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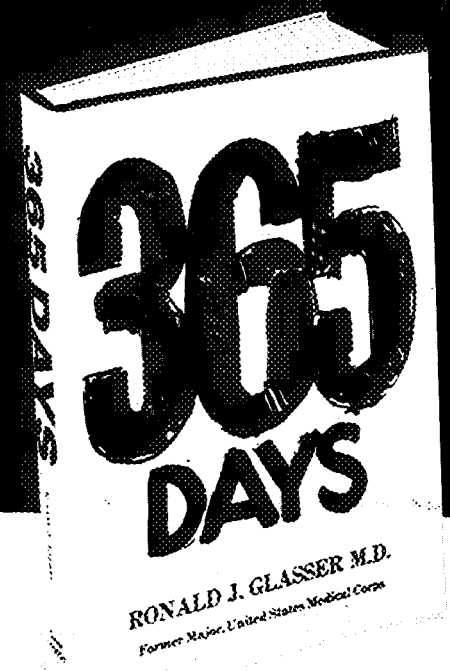

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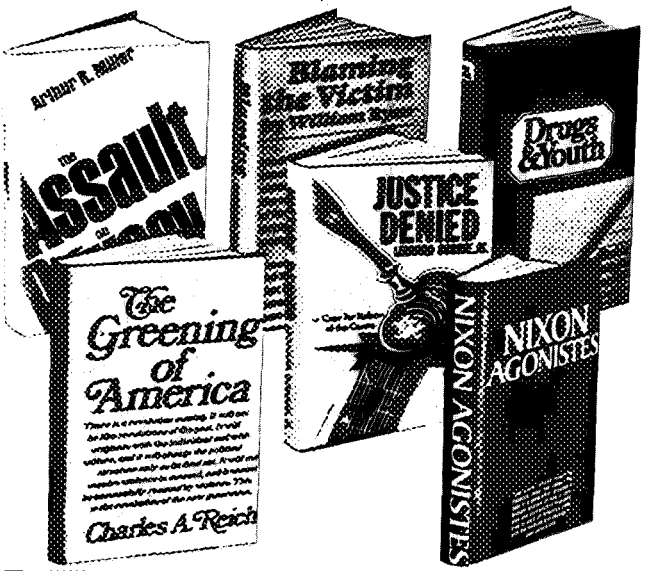

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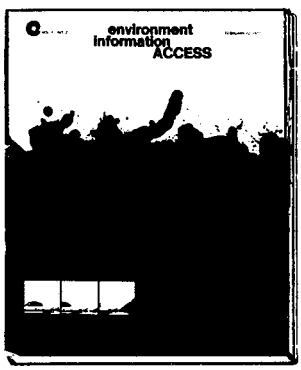

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Letters

Drugs and Crime

Suzannah Lessard's article on the necessity to change our legal approach to drug misuse was excellent ["Busting Our Mental Blocks on Drugs and Crime," June].

I would add:

—Our society has failed to eliminate sources of despair that contribute to drug misuse, from poverty in the cities to the effort by GIs in Vietnam to be sent home as addicts rather than be killed in a detested war.

—Our health care system—organized medicine and our hospitals—has not taken leadership in meeting the critical problems of drug misuse, but left it to others such as the Attorney General.

ROBERT N. BUTLER, M.D.
Washington, D.C.

Dr. Butler is a psychiatrist.

Thanks for your excellent article "Busting Our Mental Blocks on Drugs and Crime" by Suzannah Lessard. Discussions like this are needed to overcome the years of false propaganda paraded in front of the American people by Mr. Anslinger and associates.

NORMAN OSLIK
Kensington, Md.

One problem about legalizing heroin is that most black and Spanish-speaking Americans don't like the idea, and theirs are the communities where the addiction problem is worst. The militants see a racist plot to dope their people; the moderates, a dubious experiment with their kids the guinea pigs. What can white liberals say to allay the suspicions of either? Not much.

A second problem is ground rules: how much heroin and for whom? When, as is not easy, you can get a legalization proponent to stop talking about "victimless crimes" and specify his program, usually he wants to limit doses, to exclude juveniles and adolescents, and even to exclude adults who aren't already—illegally—addicted. Such a program would leave heroin a precious commodity, much too precious to transport and store without stringent security procedures. It leaves the illegal market substantial patronage among unsatiated addicts and especially youth. While it may diminish inner-city crime rates, it will perpetuate a situation in which self-destruction by heroin is much more readily available to the urban poor than to anyone else.

But these problems seem almost academic today. According to the Provost Marshal's office, some thirty or forty thousand of our soldiers in Vietnam are using heroin. Some observers say this estimate should be doubled, and all concur that additional tens of thousands of GIs are smoking opium, or "OJs," marijuana cigarettes dipped in opium.

Whereas today addiction is largely quarantined in the slums—the "epidemic" elsewhere is mainly of fear, not of acutal addiction—tomorrow we are going to have diffused throughout our country a very large number of young men whose reentry to civilian life, difficult enough in any case, will be complicated by the vivid recollection of the euphoria heroin provides. Because addiction is a contagious disease—most users "catch" it from their friends—these returning GIs are potentially the seed money for a huge enterprise. Surely, it is unthinkable to fuel this enterprise by making heroin legally available.

The legalization proponent may retort, "Better legal than not," but this seems to me a false construction of our alternatives. The GI addict is used to a drug that is cheap, universally available, and 97 per cent pure. Typically, he is used to inhaling this drug, not to using needles. To relapse to heroin use, once he returns to the States, will not be a matter of reentering a familiar culture, in many cases, but of committing himself to an alien life style of compulsive, frenetic criminality.

Maybe this culture barrier will not prove a good deterrent, but what other hope do we have, considering the number of GI addicts (by anyone's estimate) and the sorry record of our addict-rehabilitation programs? In bridge-playing terminology, we have to as-

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sume the only distribution that lets us make the hand, and we have to play the hand accordingly. This means greatly intensifying psychological counseling and job assistance for *all* returning GIs, not merely for those identified as heroin users. It means making life without heroin the easy choice and keeping the alternative as disagreeable as it is today.

JANE NEWITT
Briarcliff Manor, N.Y.

Age-ism in Congress

In his article entitled "Fighting Seniority with Bigotry" in the June issue of *The Washington Monthly* Robert Butler erroneously stated that I had "seriously discussed" mandatory retirement for committee chairmen. Mr. Butler is mistaken. My efforts have been directed at the abolition of the Senate seniority system not the compulsory retirement of committee chairmen.

My sole objective has been to assure that Senate committee chairmen be selected on the basis of their ability rather than their length of service. This goal can be attained by the election of the chairman by the membership of the committee, selection by the party caucuses or appointment by the party leaders. While I am determined to abolish the seniority system, I am not inflexibly wedded to any one approach.

BOB PACKWOOD
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Packwood is a U. S. Senator from Oregon.

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In reference to the article "Publishing Conglomerated: When Profit Becomes Censor" in the July issue of your magazine: Cowles Communications did not, as stated by Miss Lessard, gain control of Harper & Row during the last decade. The reason why "the relationship between Cowles and Harper & Row seems vague" is that there is absolutely no corporate relationship between Cowles Communications and Harper & Row. Hence, Cowles Communications could not recently interfere "directly in the affairs of *Harper's* Magazine."

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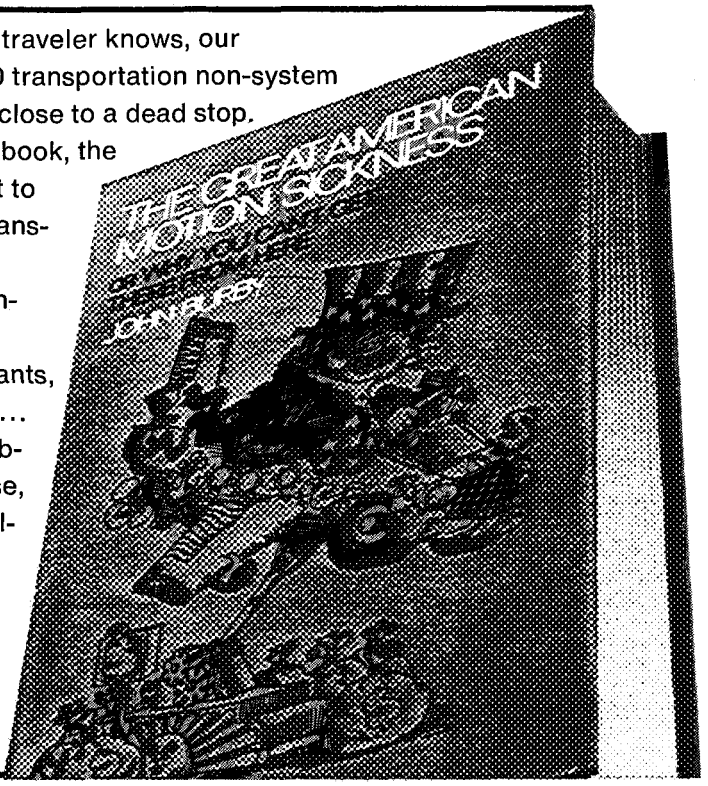

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New York, N.Y.

Mr. Collins is a vice president and Director of Corporate Relations for Cowles Communications, Inc.

The editor replies:

Mr. Collins is correct.

Muskie: A Sketch

As Congressional Fellows, we question the ethics of the writing of Joseph Nicholson's article, "Muskie: A View from the Inside," in your July issue.

In an earlier issue of *The Washington Monthly* John Rothchild ["The Stories Reporters Don't Write," June] described background briefings of the press by administration officials as "an opportunity to supposedly hear a government worker in a candid moment, a rare enough occasion in itself, to get the flavor of the inside. The price the reporter pays is protection of the source. . . ." Rothchild suggested that reporters as a group refuse to participate in "off the record" briefings, questioning the propriety of such situations.

However, such a bargain lies at the very heart of the Congressional Fellowship program, for there is an important distinction between it and the normal relationship between press and politician. Reporters and their sources have complex and interdependent relationships, involving a considerable span of time and issues and involving mutual influence. Rothchild's proposal—that the press refuse to participate in off the record briefings—could conceivably work.

The Congressional Fellow does not, could not and should not make such an agreement. He offers Congressional offices free labor and expertise in return for "the flavor of the inside" for four months. It is a rare experience for the reporter and the federal Fellow, providing insights of immense value in all fields. In return for this vantage point, however, the Fellow must make a commitment that he will not misuse the information gained in an office upon leaving the program. If a Fellow cannot make this central commitment honestly, he does not belong in the program.

We believe Joe Nicholson broke this commitment. In so doing he created debts that others will have to pay. At the least, a number of offices will probably be closed to future Fellows. At most, the very continuation of the program is threatened.

The ethical issue goes far deeper, however. Nicholson violated a fundamental principal of reporting and research by obtaining information under misleading circumstances. At no time did those involved in sharing their time and knowledge in Senator Muskie's office know that the article was being written. We question the professional ethics of anyone who seeks information under such grossly false pretenses.

KARL KURTZ, RUDY ROUSSEAU, LISA WALKER, MARTIN WALKER, TIM WYNGAARD
Washington, D.C.

The author, Joseph Nicholson, replies:

I regret that my article may have made it difficult for Congressional Fellows to receive assignments in some congressional offices. The freedom to criticize often involves such a price. When the criticism is substantial, as I believe it was in this article, I think it is worth the price.

In speaking about professional ethics, the generalizations of this letter are untrue and the conclusions are just plain hogwash. I wrote this article after I left Senator Muskie's office and I did not disclose any confidential material to which I had gained access in the office. While past Congressional Fellows who have written about their members of Congress may have avoided criticism, we made no "commitment," neither written nor oral, to refrain from criticizing our members. ■

Solutions to August puzzle:

1M	I	2A	M	3I		4C		5F		6B	E	7A	C	8H
E		G		9C	H	I	C	A	G	O		C		A
10E	N	N	U	I		T		M		11D	N	T	O	P
T		E		12E	L	Y	13S	E	E	S		O		P
14S	15E	W	16E	R			T			17T	18A	R	19D	Y
	N		Q		20S	T	A	N	21D		S		I	
22T	H	O	U		W		T		E		23P	O	S	T
	A		24A	D	E	L	E	G	A	T	E		T	
25U	N	I	T		E		S		N		26C	H	E	T
	C		O		27T	I	M	E	S		T		N	
28D	E	29A	R	30S			E			31A	S	32I	D	33E
A		L		34P	R	35I	N	36T	E	D		S		X
37N	E	P	A	L		N		E		38A	L	S	O	P
D		H		39I	N	T	E	R	I	M		U		E
40Y	E	A	S	T		O		M		41S	T	E	A	L

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The Terms of Tenure: To Have and Be Held

This article is part of our series on Work in America.

by Suzannah Lessard

Inferring facts from etymology may not be the soundest policy, but the history of the word tenure reveals a fundamental ambiguity as to whether tenure implies holding something or being held by it. As the original usage applies to land under the feudal system, independence is definitely not an intrinsic part of the meaning, and while security is implied in some senses, it is almost always a contingent security, contingent upon payment of a definite price, upon some form of homage. While contemporary reasons for tenure are quite different from the medieval, the feudal connotations of the word apply to the modern sense, too. Psychological as well as material pressures demand fealty of the tenured person and subtly bind him into a condition of dependence, diminishing his flexibility and self-confidence until, though the gate stands wide open, invisible hurdles reduce to the realm of theory his option to leave.

While the employee tenders no reciprocal guarantee that he will stay, tenured jobs seem to exercise a powerful claim on people, holding them when, were it not for their tenure, they would go. One reason is that, given a lifetime position, one tends to focus on the position, role, title, and place, rather than on the substance of what one is doing there, on the job rather than on the work. When, for example, the 647th auto theft case comes before a district judge, he controls his inexpressible boredom by maintaining a 10 per cent alertness, allowing the remainder of his faculties to be anesthetized in a numbing semi-snooze. Yet as he goes home that night he does not say to himself, "Today I tried my 647th auto theft case, and it was so boring that even though I was half asleep, I nearly expired"; he says, "I am a Federal Judge." And saying that, he convinces himself that his work is vital and important. It is reasonable to assume that five years as a district judge is bound to drive at least some live minds to exasperation, but have you ever heard of any federal judge freely resigning?

Another example is a certain type of tenured professor. If you ask him what he does, he will say, "I am a professor of English," thereby communicating deep involvement in education. Actually, he long ago began to repeat himself and lost his zest for teaching the young. Through finagling, which has become his second expertise, he actually teaches only a few hours a week, and even those select graduate classes try his patience to the limit. The main satisfaction he gets from his job is saying, "I am a

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professor of English." This keeps him from confronting the fact that he hates doing the work of a professor of English.

Another body of tenured people is civil servants, on whom tenure works its most deleterious effects. The idea of giving up his tenure is apt to send ripples of shock down the civil servant's spine, and he, too, is apt to concentrate on the job-frame rather than the work in the middle, even though, or perhaps because, that work is apt to be the most trivial nonsense. But aside from flexibility, he pays a second and graver price. Although the very substance and purpose of his work is political, his tenure is contingent on abstaining from political activity.

If a person accepts this standard of neutrality, accepts the mandate to implement policy, not to judge it or in any way form it, he reduces his value to the level of a computer. If the design defeats his purpose, that is not his affair, he only draws the lines, hammers the nails. He is expected to be as ready to draft a program segregating school children as to draft one integrating them.

The civil servant is not to consider the purpose of what he does, nor even to engage in any activity resembling an expression of political commitment, lest he begin to think about the purposes of those strategems to which he daily contributes his talents. Awareness of and responsibility for the use of one's work is not only the first principle of integrity, but a basic requisite for a healthy, integrated attitude toward what one does with oneself.

The only standard in the civil service is that of technical competence, the only ideal that of the bureaucratic mastermind, the whiz-kid technician. There is no tradition which emphasizes the dimension of professional responsibility or concern with the purpose of what you do and your loyalty to that purpose, hence to what your work should be and what it should accomplish, and, by extension, to what your boss, your colleagues, and your department should be and should accomplish. Such loyalty finds a destructive or ineffective policy a violation and useless work an affront, not only for ethical reasons, but because it's an insult to one's dignity. This loyalty is predicated on the assumption that you are working not just for money, or to please a higher-up, but to achieve a definite end, that your ability cannot be used to achieve just any end. Fidelity to a professional standard however, implies a dignity and autonomy which is neither expected nor desired in the tenured civil servant. If he adheres to it he will soon be made aware of his presumption.

The Pro's Sad Bargain

The concept of prostitution, doing something for money without love, is widely applied to disparate forms of activity. When applied to work, love in the metaphor would seem to represent caring about your task, choosing it not just because of a reward attached, but because it is consonant with what you believe is right and worth doing. So the unprostituted professional should be one who brings his own terms to the bargain with the buyer. The power to enforce them is his competence, which the buyer needs, and which he can threaten to withdraw if the terms are not met. Hence, no matter how small his stature in relation to the buyer, they meet on a basis of equality. It is clear that he is not a slave of demand, not a commodity to be paid for and used. He is self-determined. Yet despite the currency of the prostitute metaphor, the pro ethic which reigns in and out of the government places no importance on accordance with the substance and end of one's work, only on doing it well—the Wall Street lawyer, brilliant drafter of contracts, no matter in whose interests, or the special assistant, fabulous strategist and solver of problems, seldom giving a thought to whether the operation itself is right

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or wrong. The trouble with the pro ethic is that it sees the prostitute in the man who does second-rate work for money, but not in the man who does first-rate work on a project for which he has no love.

For most of us, our bargaining power is competence—that sheer technical, neutral ability. Even if 90 per cent of the work done in your office is bureaucratic confetti, your competence to do the 10 per cent of real work is a compelling card to hold. But it is compelling only if you are willing to withdraw it, willing to refuse to compromise it. If you care more about your job guarantee than you do about your control of that card, your power is cancelled out. If in your heart you have bartered your competence carte blanche, relinquishing responsibility for the effect of your labors, then you are powerless, like a mere commodity with no say in its own use, like a little island which sacrifices autonomy in return for security. This is the relationship between employer and employee which tenure in the government nourishes and protects.

Riding the Eurail Pass

The crunch of the tenure system is that people in it find it very hard to leave. Tenure is like a Eurailpass. Having bought the pass, you are perfectly free to stop riding the train, but if you come upon a town which promises an unprecedented good time if you would only stop over, chances are you will be simply incapable of staying there, or if you do stay, you will dance on thorns, knowing your pass is expiring unused. Likewise, a tenured person is theoretically no more prevented from seeking new work than his untenured neighbor, but the plain truth seems to be that somehow job guarantees intimidate people into staying when they would otherwise go. This makes about as much sense as refusing to trade in a toaster which clanks and smokes for a better model because noxious and irritating as it is, it is guaranteed to go on working.

In order to work well, particularly at something which demands imagination, intellectual energy, and dedication—in other words, something other than plain labor—people have to feel free to leave: they stay only because they choose to stay, not because they are afraid to leave. It's rather like a troubled marriage in which the wife can't decide whether she really wants to leave or stay, but because she is so terrified of being alone, stays, never discovering that in the absence of terror she would have decided for positive reasons to stay. Such a marriage would limp along, slowly wearing down the partners. But if she felt ready to leave if necessary, and felt able, then having decided to stay, she could face the problems with confidence and work fearlessly to make something constructive out of the relationship. Paradoxically, by being willing to dump the marriage, she would make it worth saving. The same applies to a job. If, unafraid of being fired, you work courageously, with conscience and commitment, then the job is far more rewarding—worth staying in—than if cowed by the fear of dismissal, you yielded to all pressures in the effort to keep it.

Being ready to leave a job can cut through problems much less drastic than, but equally pernicious as, being utterly miserable. Even the most idealistic and aware person who goes to work in an institution will find defensiveness eroding more and more of his energy. This is particularly true in

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government agencies where the accumulation of things to defend builds rapidly and where just the simple fight for the survival of your agency against the budgetry and status-seeking inroads of other agencies, just fighting for your project's slice of the pie, can rapidly absorb 90 per cent of a person's time. Defensiveness can creep up unrecognized, the gradual shift from saying, upon hearing that something is wrong, "That's terrible, what can I do about it?" to "Will the press find out about it?" This is the kind of static that being ready to leave can cut through. You simply don't tolerate nonsense work, and don't bother with defensiveness if you are there to get something done and are perfectly clear in your head that you will leave the moment the treadmill overtakes the balance of your efforts. A corollary of this point is that when they know they're going to leave, people very often become extraordinarily lucid, direct, tenacious, and courageous, the phenomenon known as lame-duck guts. Suddenly freed of showing up its flanks, the mind clears and goes into top gear.

The most tangible holding power of tenure is fear that you won't be able to compete in the "outside" world, that if you leave your cozy little niche your real lack of qualification will be exposed. Fear of failure if you try something else and a reluctance to give up your investment in time compels people year after year to throw good money after bad, to hold on to the scrawny, irksome bird in the hand rather than drop it to go after one of the plump gorgeous creatures in the bush. A subtler force is reliance on structure. It takes a fair measure of inner sufficiency to let the Eurailpass lie unused, because it represents an order, a guideline. Tossing it aside seems to invite chaos. Unless you are deeply inner-directed, unless you really know what you like and want, letting go of a structure like a tenured job seems like throwing away your rudder to become a piece of flotsam tossed whimsically and cruelly about a chaotic world.

The same holds for fear of losing your investment: if you have not been inner-directed in your work, then it is likely to appear to you that leaving your tenured job means crossing out your stay there as lost time. But if you have worked by choice, regardless of guarantees, if you have spurned the phony jobs and put your back into genuine work, then nothing can cheat you of that investment. Any work you have done, if you have really done it, is an enrichment and becomes part of you, just as any relationship you have participated in becomes part of you whether it ends or not. You take it with you. The trouble is that structures like tenure, like any job which arranges your life for you, insuring against risk, providing a neat little stepladder on which to mark your progress, will tend to weaken inner-direction and sufficiency. The spirit, like the body, if constantly given a substitute for its own strength, will lose its strength. So like a self-fulfilling prophecy, it creates the dependence it presupposes.

Security for Gobs, not Jobs

A person burdened with the responsibility of a family, or anyone who has known real poverty, might justifiably be angered by what appears to be a cavalier dismissal of the value of security. While a guaranteed minimum income could not completely relieve a person of that responsibility or fear, it would at least put a net between a person and hard disaster, and go a long way towards allowing him to demand more of his work than a livelihood.

We have reached the point where if a person is not pulling his weight in the "economy" he is not dragging it back. In fact the once taut line between "productive" work and prosperity has become so flaccid that we have had to manufacture phony work to perpetuate the myth. Caught in the myth, huge resources of manpower

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are trapped in senseless, demeaning work, while there are vast needs for genuine work and while thousands of unwanted people in the already clogged work force are scorned for being on the public dole. It's time to separate the right to a livelihood from the duty of a job. Or, taking "job" to mean primarily source of income, it's time to separate the job idea from our concept of work. In the quicksilver genius of language, "job" is derived from the Middle English word *gobbe*, meaning lump, portion, or mouthful. *Gobbe* in turn comes from the Celtic word *gob*, or mouth. Everybody can and should have a gobbe for his and the little gobs around him. Then, freed of the job ethic, he can decide what he wants to do with himself, what his work will be.

All this is possible only in a prosperous technological society. Those who scorn prosperity as deadening, bourgeois, and restricting miss the point that it's only the use of prosperity that's restricting, and that a poor economy means less freedom for everyone and dull work for most. The recession is the friend of the job ethic, and hence the friend of those who want to preserve the status quo. A huge excess labor force is in the interests of the rich ruling elite, because it means everybody has to keep in line and can't afford to challenge anything because necessity dictates that they hang on to their niche. It's hard to miss the irrepressible glee exuding from fat cats these days when they talk about how hard it is for the college kids to find work. No more nonsense about long hair, *pro bono* work, or defense contracts. It's not a seller's market, so they have to put on a suit, drop their demands, and conform. The fat cat wins.

On the other side of the coin, the guaranteed minimum income is a radically different concept from welfare, tenure, fringe benefits, and all the swaddling practices against which the conservative flank has railed for so long. It is not an extension of the cocoon. It does not willy-nilly provide the individual with a credit card, blunting the challenge to make your own way and attain self-sufficiency. It is only a guarantee against financial disaster. It's function would be to break the cocoon, to supply a person with a base from which he can go forth into the adventure of life, be a rugged individual, prove himself, contribute, discover his potential, make his own way and all those other nostalgic phrases which ring like outdated coins from some treasure ship sunk in the past.

The Tenure Within

If tenure were abolished tomorrow and the guaranteed income established, everyone in the government would not become instantaneously purposeful and courageous, nor would all the dissatisfied professors and bored judges be suddenly struck by a bolt of lightning and leave their tedium for engaging work. It is not the institution of tenure per se which corrupts, it's the counterpart of the institution in a person's mind. However, the existence of tenure only promotes that mental set. Furthermore, in the case of government, it attracts people who want to make the bargain, who depend on titles, don't mind being neutral, and fear stormy weather to the very place where we desperately need the opposite mentality.

Nevertheless, it is plain that the attitudes discussed in this piece reign far beyond the formally tenured domain. Taking tenure to mean not the job guarantee, but the terms under which a job guarantee is issued, it is obvious that those terms are made and wreak their effects in almost every walk of life. They are malignant not when they are made on paper, but when they are made in the heart. Abolishing formal tenure might represent a halt in the sanction of such terms, but such a move would be useless without individual recognition of the nature of the bargain. The change has to come from within. ■

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"We have now to do with another race. They were few and weak when our grandfathers first met them, but they are now many and powerful....They have made many laws, and these the rich may break but the poor may not. They take money from the poor and weak to support the rich ..."

—*Tatanka Yotanka (Sitting Bull), Hunkpapa Sioux, 1834–1890* —from the article "Indian Oratory" in the August issue of EARTH Magazine.

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THE CULTURE OF BUREAUCRACY:

Chronic Epistlitis

by Robert L. Taylor

Before me on my desk, in a red vinyl folder marked "confidential," is a congressional inquiry. It is addressed to the director of the National Institute of Mental Health. I am not the director, but my task is to act as if I were and compose a reply. Directors never write their own replies. Instead, inquiries are routed throughout the Institute along somewhat lawless traffic patterns, and the loser is the one with nobody to pass them to.

This time, I lost. That's why I'm sitting at my desk, staring at the wall, wondering what the director would say to the Senator from Texas, concerning his constituent, John Dingee of Waxahatchie, who suspects that the Institute doesn't evaluate its programs and challenges us to prove him wrong.

Dingee sought a congressional escort for his question only after a long series of frustrating exchanges with me. I kept hoping the director's office would refer his letters to somebody else, but each time, like homing pigeons, they found me in the recesses of the Institute. Answering the letters of concerned taxpayers could perhaps provide valuable communication, but the Institute's output can always outmuscle and outequivocate even the most dedicated letter-writer's input. I held Dingee off for months with letters about how we were studying the problem, and, when he asked about the specific studies, I countered with the privileged communications ploy—the studies were being finalized and the information was not available.

That's when Dingee escalated to his senator. Dingee's words were robed in red vinyl with the attached senatorial note: "Please inform me concerning the question raised by my constituent." It is through such "Congressionals"—thousands a year at the Institute, 206,241 last year at the De-

Robert Taylor is a psychiatrist in the Division of Manpower and Training at the National Institute of Mental Health.

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partment of Defense, 85,000 at HEW —that the act of letter-writing ceases to be a matter of grammar and becomes a matter of Zen Buddhism.

The once simple dialogue between Dingee and me, or between Dingee and the director, now becomes a game of multi-dimensional chess. On the base level, I am still writing to Dingee —it is his question, after all—but answering Dingee becomes the least of my problems. It doesn't matter if my answer satisfies him. It is layers of bureaucrats I am writing to, people who must okay the letter before it can be forever removed from my desk.

The Congressionals move horizontally, but our task is to write them vertically. Not only do I have to worry about what the director would say, if he ever personally wrote his own replies, but also what the director would think the Senator would say if he ever read his own mail. And since neither the Senator nor the director will ever hear of Dingee, the game enters a fourth dimension—my letter must impress not the director but the highest subordinate to the director who will approve or reject it. I must therefore write what the highest subordinate would think the director would say to the Senator, or better, what he would think the director would think the Senator's aide would think the Senator would say. Dingee, as you have gathered, disappears in all of this.

The frustration leads me to consider a direct, even creative answer:

Dear Senator:

Tell Dingee we are going to throw his ass in the asylum if he keeps raving about psychiatric incompetence.

But such responses go unwritten. The political consequences are inevitably brought into the equation. There is hardly any chance that Dingee, his suspicions aroused back in Waxahatchie, could put enough pressure on the Senator to threaten the mental health appropriations, but there is no point in taking useless risks. But then perhaps I should use the grandiose global ploy, where the specific question is disregarded and instead the answer refers repeatedly to the "Institute's undying battle for mental health and well-being." Or perhaps I should just say it straight. I recall previous letters I had written stating unambiguous positions, all returned from the director's office with notes listing ways "this information can be used against us" and the curt directive, "Needs to be more vague. Please redo."

Aside from the paralyzing policy problems of Dingee's inquiry, there are the technical questions. Does the director know the Senator personally, addressing him by first name and closing with "Yours truly" rather than "Respectfully"? Should the closing line really retain the standard form insisted upon by the director for all 12,000 letters that go out over his name each year: "If I may be of any further assistance, please let me know"?

This Congressional, I conclude, is too complicated to be answered. So I give in to the reverse Peter Principle (as incompetence rises, so problems fall) and hand the project over to my secretary. Hardened by past experience, I find the secretarial solution easier and easier. I present it to her nonchalantly, as if the matter is too trivial for my own efforts: "Wonder if you might draft a reply to this. Pretty much the same as before. If you have any difficulty, pull the file on old Congressionals." Old Congressionals, no doubt, were written by her, anyway.

Three hours later, she has a draft ready. It seems all right to me, sufficiently noncommittal, but I must not let it pass untouched. I ask her to make a few changes, even though they are unnecessary, to restore my sense of dignity and my faith in government job levels.

It would seem that the Institute has done its duty to John Dingee. We have probably spent more man-hours' worth of highly paid public service on answering Dingee's letters than he contributes in federal taxes, proof enough of the government's interest in

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serving the individual citizen. But Dingee has also given in return—he has given several federal employees something to do. For if lower divisions are for writing letters, then upper divisions are for editing them, and still higher echelons exist to undangle participles and rephrase sentences. And what is a director for if not to sign final copies? On each level, the simple question from John Dingee plays its small part in justifying the layers of personnel, the paychecks, the appropriations, and the typewriters.

Three days later the letter reappears in my in-box, having been returned from the next level of bureaucracy, with words scratched out, sentences transposed, and numerous suggestions for inconsequential changes scribbled in the margins. So "the" becomes "this" and "as you know" is changed to "as you *well* know." "If I may be of any further assistance, please let me know *immediately*" is substituted for "If I may be of any further assistance, please let me know" in order to convey real concern.

At this point I could not care less. What the letter says is strictly secondary; the original question is long forgotten. Once again, I hand the letter to my secretary, with instructions to make the changes indicated. The ping-pong process continues: the draft to me and back to her with an "O. K." for the second "final" copy. But at last, in victory the secretary appears with the copy. I check it for "perfection," and it passes. The final product.

And now for the last hurdle. The letter is sent in full regalia to the Office of the Director. An official "letter secretary" records receipt of the letter. It is ushered into the Office of the Special Assistant to the Director who has final responsibility for making sure that all is correct with these labors of creative vaguery. Suddenly, he sees a dangling participle. Back the "final" copy goes into its red folder with the terse note of righteous indignation: "Please correct!" The letter passes from special assistant to secretary, to interdepartmental mail, to secretary, to me. At least the mistake was a good, solid one. The last Congressional came back because of an unnecessary comma.

This time I deliver the "final" myself to the director's office. Upon leaving there can be no complete peace of mind; there is the haunting possibility of another dangling participle or split infinitive lurking somewhere in that reply.

Days pass before I receive a phone call: "Remember some Dingee letter you were writing for the director?" It's his special assistant talking to me. "Before I had a chance to look it over again for corrections, the director informed me that the Senator's office had called, asking why he hadn't received a reply to his inquiry of four weeks ago. The director assured him of an immediate, personal reply. So I drafted a new letter, expressing his considerable concern."

Thus relieved, I can return to my work—preparing papers on new ways of looking at things at the Institute. Like the next Congressional, they must go through channels. ■

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Agribusiness: Overkill on the Farm

Harrison Wellford is an associate of the Center for the Study of Responsive Law and a research fellow at the Harvard Institute of Politics. This article is excerpted from the forthcoming Nader Report, Sowing the Wind: Pesticides, Meat, and the Public Interest, *to be published this fall by Grossman Publishers.*

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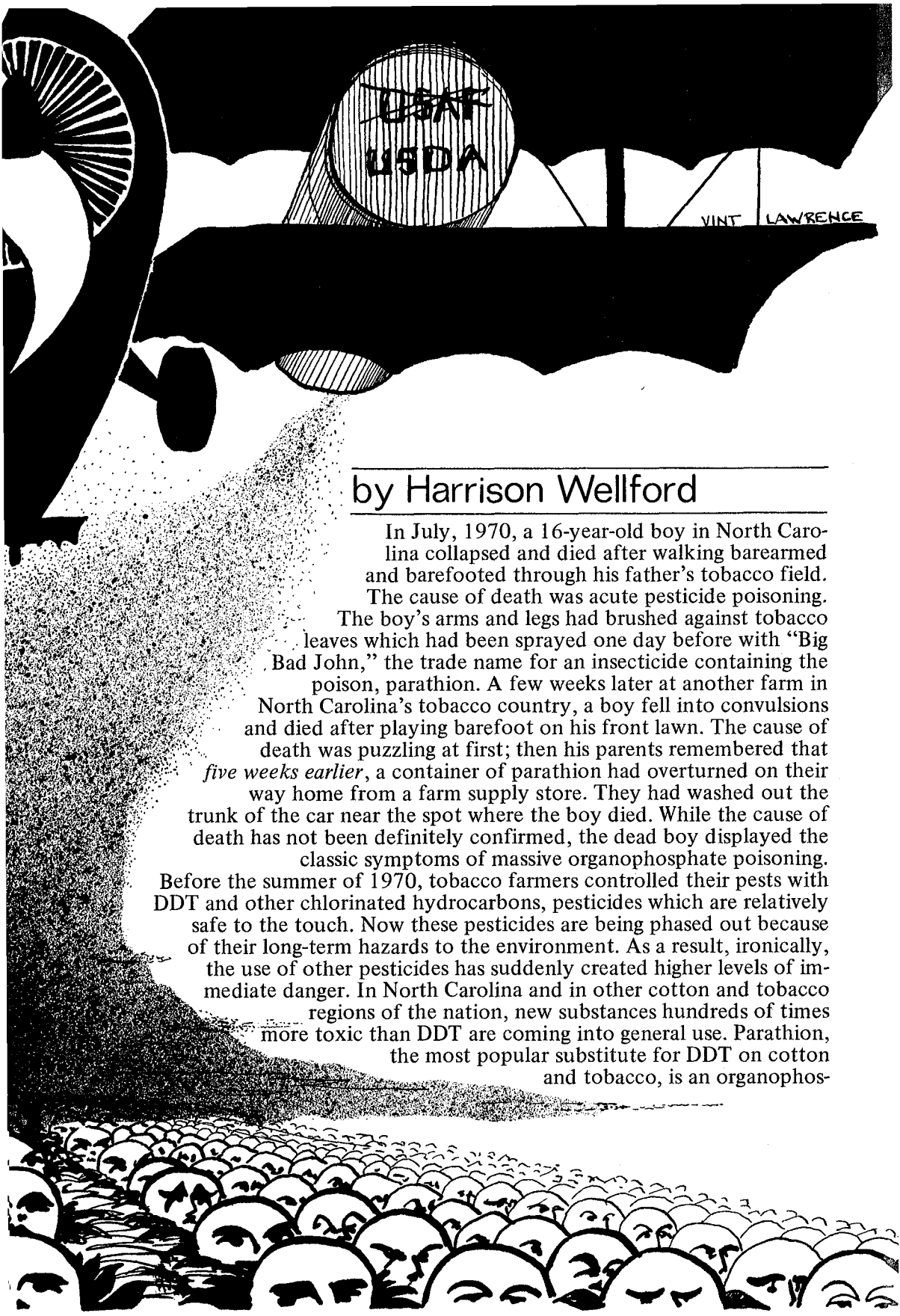

by Harrison Wellford

In July, 1970, a 16-year-old boy in North Carolina collapsed and died after walking barearmed and barefooted through his father's tobacco field. The cause of death was acute pesticide poisoning. The boy's arms and legs had brushed against tobacco leaves which had been sprayed one day before with "Big Bad John," the trade name for an insecticide containing the poison, parathion. A few weeks later at another farm in North Carolina's tobacco country, a boy fell into convulsions and died after playing barefoot on his front lawn. The cause of death was puzzling at first; then his parents remembered that *five weeks earlier*, a container of parathion had overturned on their way home from a farm supply store. They had washed out the trunk of the car near the spot where the boy died. While the cause of death has not been definitely confirmed, the dead boy displayed the classic symptoms of massive organophosphate poisoning.

Before the summer of 1970, tobacco farmers controlled their pests with DDT and other chlorinated hydrocarbons, pesticides which are relatively safe to the touch. Now these pesticides are being phased out because of their long-term hazards to the environment. As a result, ironically, the use of other pesticides has suddenly created higher levels of immediate danger. In North Carolina and in other cotton and tobacco regions of the nation, new substances hundreds of times more toxic than DDT are coming into general use. Parathion, the most popular substitute for DDT on cotton and tobacco, is an organophos-

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phate insecticide. Unlike DDT it does not persist in the environment and does not accumulate in human tissue. It does have one drawback: when absorbed through the skin or ingested, it poisons rapidly by a devastating assault on the nervous system. A few drops of parathion concentrate on the skin will sicken a man and a few more will kill him.

Organophosphates belong to a class of chemicals developed as by-products of nerve gas research during World War II. They attack the nervous system by suppressing blood enzymes known as cholinesterases which help regulate the body's nerve impulses. Organophosphates like parathion and Phosdrin are the biggest pesticide killers in this country. Low-level exposures create chronic eye irritations, nausea, cramps, depression, and chronic fatigue. If exposure is stopped, the patient usually recovers. The long-term effects of chronic exposure to organophosphate poisoning remain unknown.

In the spring of 1970, over 20 children became violently ill with nausea and stomach cramps when their elementary school in Phoenix, Arizona, was doused by the spray of a lethal agriculture chemical drifting from a nearby sugarbeet field. The spray contained the organophosphate Thimet, the second most toxic of all pesticides in common use. When the crop duster made his run, the wind was blowing about 10 miles per hour from the direction of the field toward the school. The stench from the spray lingered in its hallways for several days. At first, Robert Rayburn, administrator of the state pest control applicators board, a regulatory body responsible for pesticide safety, maintained that none of the chemical had drifted from the sugarbeet field to the school. When he was confronted with the sick children, he remained unconcerned: "This is one of the hazards of living next to a field which must be sprayed to save crops. People should learn not to build houses next to fields in these areas."

What is remarkable about this incident is not only the insensitivity of the state pest control official, but that a farmer can spray his field with a pesticide as toxic as Thimet on a windy day a few hundred yards from an elementary school and *break no law*. "There was no violation of law here," said Rayburn. All the law requires is a one-fourth-mile corridor between the area sprayed and the school. In this case the intervening distance was precisely that. The lesson is that methods of application, such as aerial spraying, can be as important as basic toxicity in predicting the hazards of a pesticide.

Paraquat is a nitrogen compound which is used as an herbicide; it is different from Thimet and parathion in that it has a delayed effect. The Chevron Chemical Company, using billboards and radio spots, has heavily promoted the use of Paraquat on cotton and soybeans in the South. Finding themselves deluged with requests for Paraquat from farmers, professional crop dusters wrote to the Civil Aeronautics Board for guidance in its use. CAB responded in 1969 with an unprecedented warning: Paraquat in small quantities can have "a delayed and irreversible effect on the lungs. There is no known antidote at this time." The pulmonary fibrosis develops gradually. By the time the victim realizes that his lungs are damaged it is usually too late.

Presently Paraquat is being sprayed promiscuously over the cotton and soybean fields of the South. Chevron's hard-sell ad campaign and the Paraquat label fail to mention that this chemical, when ingested, has no antidote. According to an official at the National Communicable Disease Center, Chevron's claim that one has to drink Paraquat to get a toxic dose is not true. Both the Center and the Pesticide Regulation Division (recently transferred from the Department of Agriculture to the Environmental Protection Agency) warn that inhalation may be a hazard and have recommended that it be used only with

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masks, goggles, and protective clothing. The cautions are rarely followed in practice.

In August, 1970, a pesticide aerial applicator in Napoleonville, Louisiana, wrote to the CAB complaining about pressure from growers to apply Paraquat. He stated that many soybean fields are surrounded by tenant shacks, that some of these homes rely on open rain barrels and wells for water, and that often people are working in the fields while they are being sprayed. He questioned the discrepancy between the elaborate precautions the CAB suggests for aerial applicators for their own protection and the lack of concern by any federal agency for the people on the ground who may breathe Paraquat vapors or ingest it through their water supply.

On a large California ranch in 1965, a four-year-old boy and his three-year-old sister were playing around a spray rig while their mother worked in the field. The boy took the cap off a gallon can of tetraethylpyrophosphate (TEPP) left on the rig. The three-year-old put her finger in the can and licked it. She vomited immediately, became unconscious, and was dead on arrival at the nearby hospital. TEPP is the most deadly of all pesticides in common use. The estimated fatal dose for TEPP concentrate for an adult is one drop orally or one drop on the skin, a toxicity which puts it in a class with nerve gas.

The Federal Commission on Pesticides and Their Relationship to Environmental Health (Mrak Commission) reported a case of a woman who ate the tip and several leaves of a mint plant growing near a plot being treated with an experimental pesticide. She developed a nearly fatal case of "fulminating intoxication." The mint she had eaten grew adjacent to rose plants whose roots had been treated with Temik, Union Carbide's trade name for the insecticide aldicarb.

Temik is one of the most poisonous chemicals ever developed for general use in the United States. It is a carbamate insecticide and, like the organophosphate parathion, it inhibits the cholinesterase enzymes vital to nerve transmission. The only other insecticide of acute toxicity comparable to Temik in its technical form is the organophosphate TEPP. Temik is one of the few pesticides more toxic to mammals than to insects. It is at least five times as toxic to the laboratory rat as to houseflies. Union Carbide envisions a potential market for Temik equivalent to that of the carbamate Sevin, which has sales approximating $80 million. Temik was sold commercially for the first time in 1970 to treat cotton in the Mississippi Delta. Union Carbide is preparing to launch a major advertising campaign this year to promote Temik and hopes to extend its use to potatoes, citrus fruits, and other crops.

Union Carbide has worked hard to insure that Temik can be used safely and has invested nearly $10 million in its development. The company bases its safety claims on the fact that Temik is formulated as granules covered with a chemical coating which permits the poison to be gradually released. The granules are planted two inches under the soil so that in normal use exposure to wildlife is eliminated. The aldicarb poison in Temik is absorbed by the roots of the cotton and gives the cotton plant a built-in systemic insecticide for up to 10 weeks or more.

Union Carbide has organized the most elaborate safety program ever developed for a pesticide, including a 24-hour emergency telephone number for medical assistance and safety instruction, instruction of physicians, poison control centers in areas where Temik is used, and special courses in safe handling and emergency procedures for all regional distributors, warehousemen, and field personnel.

Despite these precautions, lingering doubt about Temik's safety under field conditions caused the Pesticide Regulation Division to hold up its registration for over three years. Some leading scientists doubt whether it should ever have been registered. The carbowax coating on the Temik gran-

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ules can be dissolved by moisture. Farm workers will be handling Temik in humid climates where sweat and rain may remove the coating.

When Temik is used on thousands of farms instead of a few carefully monitored experimental acres, Union Carbide will almost certainly find it too expensive to enforce its present safety procedures. There are bound to be accidents.

The Nut Behind the Spray Can

Pesticides such as these are used by thousands of farmers every day. A recent survey of small farmers in Hawaii revealed that 46 per cent regularly use Paraquat, 33 per cent use parathion, and 18 per cent use TEPP. The hazards—both short-term in the form of acute toxicity to users and long-term in the form of potential impact on birth defects, cancer, or mutations in man—provide a standard for measuring responsiveness to the public interest in industry, the executive agencies, and Congress.

The pesticide makers and the federal government claim that even these deadly poisons are safe for general use if the label on the container prescribes a safe use. The motto "Stop: Read the Label," usually with the credit "Courtesy of the National Agricultural Chemicals Association," can be found in most farm and gardening publications.

This motto projects the pesticide lobby's image of social responsibility. Its basic theme is that pesticide problems, if they exist, arise only through consumer misuse. For those who followed the struggle for automobile safety legislation, the motto has a familiar ring. As scapegoat for consumer injuries, the nut behind the wheel has now been joined by the nut behind the spray can.

As protection against pesticide hazards, the label hardly satisfies the industry's obligation to public safety. First, four out of five pesticide accidents occur where the nut behind the spray can is less than five years old. Second, many studies have shown that few farmers or homeowners read the label before using pesticides. Even if the user tries to read the label, he may have little chance of understanding it. A two-year study by the University of Illinois completed in 1971 found that "the average pesticide label is suitable only for those with at least 10 to 12.9 years of formal education."

Some labels are so contradictory that they provoke laughter rather than outrage, as this excerpt from congressional hearings in 1969 shows:

> Mr. Naughton [committee counsel]: Mr. Chairman, this is a labeling for concentrated insecticide, fly and roach spray, manufactured by the Hysan Products Co. of Chicago.
>
> The cautions include the following statements:
>
> *Use in well-ventilated rooms or areas only. Always spray away from you. Do not stay in room that has been heavily treated. Avoid inhalation.*
>
> On the other side, the directions for use start out in this manner:
>
> *Close all doors, windows, and transoms. Spray with a fine mist sprayer freely upwards in all directions so the room is filled with the vapor. If insects have not dropped to the floor in three minutes, repeat spraying, as quantity sprayed was insufficient. After 10 minutes, doors and windows may be opened.*
>
> Rep. Rosenthal: If there is anybody around to open them. [Laughter].
>
> Rep. Fountain: Any comment on that particular label?
>
> Dr. Hays [Pesticide Regulation Division Director]: I have no comment. I would have to study the label carefully.

This helps explain why labels have been ineffective in preventing the 75,000 acute pesticide poisonings which the National Product Safety Commission estimates occur each year. This is only a rough estimate. Until very recently there has been no nationwide attempt to compile records on pesticide poisonings. The Mrak Commission lamented in 1969 that no federal agency has a clear picture of pesticide hazards in America and predicted that the actual number of accidents far exceeds those reported. Some local studies support the

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Mrak estimate. Of 1,000 deaths subjected to medico-legal investigation over a 10-year period in Florida, pesticides caused nearly 10 per cent of all deaths and were the leading cause of death for the under-five-year age group. Pesticides are also the leading cause of fatal poisonings in Puerto Rico.

None of these estimates take into account the long-term hazards which may result from chronic exposure. These effects may be far more subtle than direct poisoning upon ingestion. Researchers who compared two groups of homeowners, one spraying pesticides once a week or more, the other spraying less often, found that the heavy use group had significantly reduced lung capacity, more asthma and chronic sinus inflammation, and twice as much chronic hayfever. The long-term effects of chronic exposure to pesticides on the incidence of cancer, birth defects, and mutations remain unknown.

Until very recently, the Agriculture Department's Pesticide Regulation Division was egregiously nonchalant about investigating the accident records of the pesticides it regulates. This attitude was revealed in hearings before a House subcommittee in 1969:

Rep. Fountain: Approximately how many reports do you receive annually on pesticide poisoning?

Mr. Dellavechia [PRD staff]: Last year we investigated 151 accidents.

Mr. Naughton: You think the 150 poisoning reports or 175 that you receive annually is a fair share of the total number of pesticide poisonings?

Dr. Hays [PRD director]: I think it is a reasonable estimate. . . .

Mr. Naughton: The poison control centers [set up by the Public Health Service] . . . receive. . . 5,000 reports of poisonings by pesticides annually, of which approximately 4,000 involved children under five. The poison control people advise us that in their opinion the number of poisonings is actually eight to 10 times greater. . . the number of pesticide poisonings is somewhere in the area of 50,000 annually.

Rep. Fountain: It is obvious you weren't aware they receive about 5,000 reports a year.

Dr. Hays: That is correct.

Rep. Fountain: How many of the 150 or so reports. . . you receive . . . involve human beings?

Dr. Hays: Of the 151, 52 of these involved humans [the other victims were cows, horses, and other farm animals].

The risk from the new generation of pesticides is greatest for the farm workers who pick vegetables and fruits sprayed by organophosphates and carbamates. This is a very defenseless population. Many suffer from malnutrition, a condition which increases their vulnerability to pesticide poisoning. Most have no union to bargain for their safety. These workers and the land owners who hire them are alarmingly ignorant about pesticide hazards. But this ignorance is often compounded by the land owner's refusal to comply with the few safety regulations which do exist.

The list of violations is tedious to relate. Farm workers in contact with pesticides have no place to wash their hands, recently sprayed fields are not posted, waiting periods after spraying are not observed, medical care is not available. But while violations of these standards threaten the health of farm workers, the Department of Agriculture (USDA) continues to deliver huge agricultural subsidies to growers who regularly ignore health laws. On July 27, 1970, California Rural Legal Assistance unsuccessfully petitioned USDA to cut off payments to 30 agricultural growers who received subsidies of $7.1 million in 1969, while alledgedly violating these laws.

In 1966, California reported 1,347 cases of occupational disease attributed to pesticides and agricultural chemicals. Farm laborers accounted for more than half (704) of the 1,347 reports, and part of the agricultural work force is excluded from these statistics. Even based on these figures, the farming industry has the highest rate of occupational disease in California, more than two and one half times that for all other industries.

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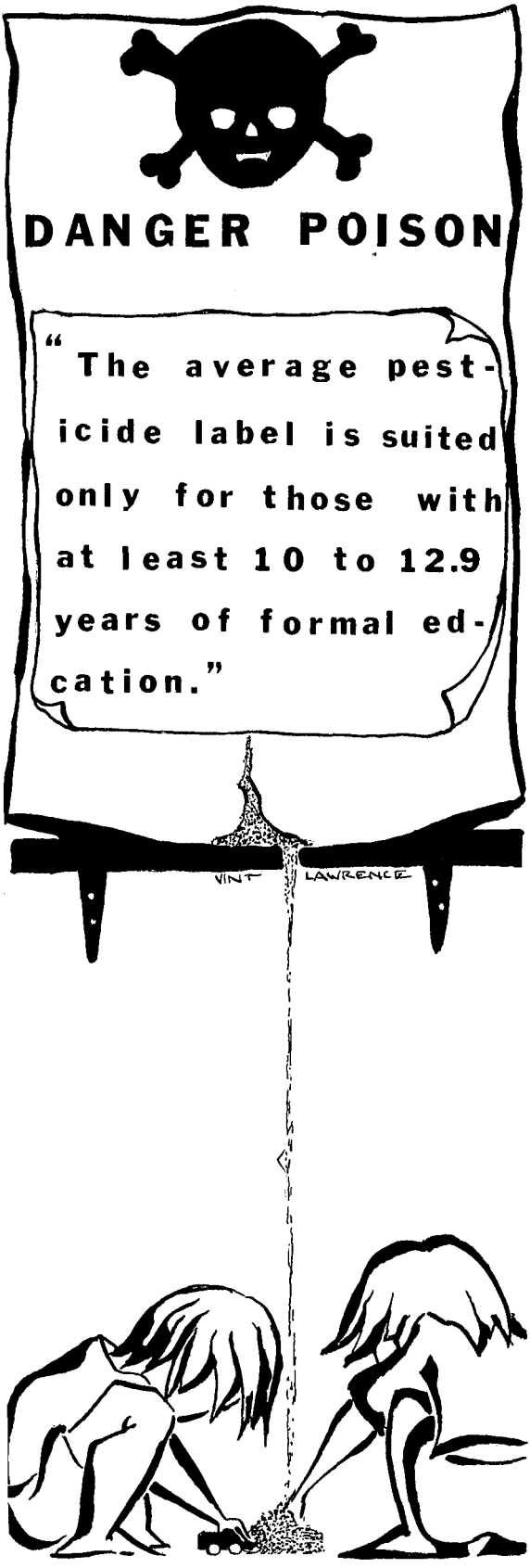

Pax Arsenica

There comes a time in the study of any regulatory agency when one stumbles across the paradigm case of an enforcement fiasco. This is a case where life seems to imitate art—where all the nuances of failure are so apparent that they assume the proportions of caricature rather than truth. The Pesticide Regulation Division's treatment of pesticides containing arsenic is such a case.

In the summer of 1969, an Iowan removed weeds from his yard with an arsenic crabgrass killer. The herbicide was in granular form and was sprinkled on the lawn. Three weeks later he mowed the lawn. Just to be neighborly, he tossed the grass clippings into the next yard for some horses grazing there. Four horses died in 48 hours and two more died later. One month later investigators found that the granules were still on the grass.

Because of cases like this, public health officials have long objected to the use of arsenicals around the home. In order to be effective against rodents inside and weeds outside, arsenic is often placed in corners, cupboards, or basements in the home or scattered on the lawn outside. Both uses make them available to children and pets. The four classes of arsenicals—lead arsenate, sodium arsenate, sodium arsenite, and arsenic trioxide—have accounted for an estimated 3,000 accidental poisonings, most of them of children under five, every year for the last 10 years. In 1965, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare officially requested PRD not to permit use of arsenicals around the home. HEW was influenced by the President's Science Advisory Committee in its 1963 report, "The Uses of Pesticides," which stated: "As a corollary to cautious registration of new pesticides, more hazardous compounds might well be removed from the market when equally effective and less hazardous substitutes are found." The arsenicals have

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several more benign substitutes.

Despite their alarming accident record and the presence of safer substitutes on the market, the arsenicals became the beneficiaries of PRD's extraordinary reluctance to take enforcement action against an established product. Unlike DDT, where the hazards to man are long-term and almost impossible to link to concrete victims, the arsenicals are acutely toxic—there are documented cases of multiple human victims, most of them children. Yet even here, the burden of proof which PRD requires before it will suspend a product led to years of delay and unnecessary poisonings.

In August, 1967, two years after HEW had filed its objection, the Department of Agriculture (USDA) issued a "notice to manufacturers" informing the makers of sodium arsenite and arsenic trioxide that their products were soon to be cancelled for home use.

This notice greatly alarmed the Pax Company, a small Utah corporation which had suffered net operating losses for three straight years. Its only profitable products were herbicides containing arsenic trioxide. Pax anxiously awaited the cancellation order which usually quickly follows a notice. Four months went by and no order arrived. PRD then sent another note to Pax saying that it was contemplating the issuance of a cancellation order and would give the company 30 days to submit its views. Another eight months went by with no further word from Washington. Then on July 25, 1968, PRD published in the Federal Register a notice that the registration of Pax's products was to be cancelled within 90 days (a 60-day bonus over the normal 30-day deadline). But just before cancellation was to go into effect, PRD once again backed off and granted Pax more time to compile data on the toxicity of its products. It informed Pax that action would be delayed "until further notice." Pax was now in its 15th month since the original notice from USDA *and still counting.*

In March, 1969, USDA informed the company that it intended to implement cancellation in "the near future" and asked for more information. Then suddenly the logjam broke. USDA announced on July 18, 1969, that the registration of Pax's arsenical herbicides would be cancelled in 30 days. The stalemate was ended, not by new information about the hazards of arsenic around the home, but by what a federal judge was later to call "psychological pressure" applied to Department of Agriculture officials by a congressional subcommittee. He was referring to the Fountain (Rep. L.H., of North Carolina) hearings, in which USDA representatives were thoroughly embarrassed by the Pesticide Regulation Division's lack of action on arsenicals. In fact, Dr. George Irving, head of the Agricultural Research Service, admitted that he personally had concluded long ago that arsenicals were too dangerous for home use. Yet they were still being marketed. After extracting this information, subcommittee counsel James Naughton sharply questioned Irving's subordinate, PRD director Hays:

Mr. Naughton: You don't have doubts about arsenicals. You have an accident history. You may have a lingering doubt that maybe an exception could be made for this product. It's been two years.

When did they submit this information that caused you to have some doubts that maybe it's not as dangerous as some of the others?

Dr. Hays: About July of 1968.

Mr. Naughton: All right. That's a year ago.

Dr. Bayley [Dr. Hays' superior in USDA]: They submitted some more this spring.

Dr. Hays: Following this there were. . . .

Mr. Naughton: And I'm sure they will be happy to keep on submitting information indefinitely as long as it will keep their product on the market. Hasn't that occurred to you?

Dr. Hays: I'm sure there will come a point. . . .

Mr. Naughton: How many more poisonings of children will it take?

Dr. Hays: We would hope none.

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Mr. Naughton: Yet you are willing to take the chance.

The Fountain subcommittee succeeded where HEW and hundreds of victims had failed, for USDA cancelled the Pax products soon after the hearings. Pax, still, undaunted, promptly requested appointment of a science advisory panel, an action which delayed implementation of cancellation once again. Then with the Fountain committee off its back, USDA delayed appointment of the committee for nine months, until April, 1970. Pax's products had enjoyed 32 months of reprieve *and were still counting.*

The panel's first meeting was not scheduled until August, 1970, but there were signs that Pax's time was running out. On June 26, 1970, USDA refused to renew the registration of Pax's Three-Year Crabgrass Control (one of Pax's several arsenical registrations) "pending the outcome of administrative proceedings" in Pax's case. Dr. Thomas Harris, chief of pesticide registration at HEW, urged prohibition of the Pax product because of its acute toxicity and the possibility that it may cause skin and lung cancer. In an affidavit supporting PRD's action, he cited a survey of 8,000 smelter workers exposed to arsenic trioxide. The incidence of respiratory cancer among workers of 15 years or more experience was eight times that of workers not exposed to arsenic.

In August, 1970, in the 36th month since USDA's original notice and over five years since HEW's objection to home arsenicals, Pax launched a new strategy of delay. It went into federal court to seek an injunction against the convening of the science advisory panel which *it* had requested. It also asked the court to order the Department of Agriculture to approve the registration of its crabgrass killer and it won. Willis W. Ritter, chief judge of the United States District Court in Utah, found that USDA, despite three years of deliberations, had acted "arbitrarily, capriciously, and beyond its authority under the Insecticide Act, and *in violation of the due process* clause of the Administrative Procedure Act. . . ." Judge Ritter apparently was taking pity on a small, nearly bankrupt Utah company which must compete with corporate giants like Chevron and Dow Chemical. He was also impressed by PRD's reluctance to take action in the Pax case until embarrassed by a congressional committee and by its failure to cancel or suspend even more hazardous products.

The effect of USDA's delays and Judge Ritter's decision is that Pax now has a monopoly in home herbicides containing arsenic. The six other companies which also proposed these herbicides but which dropped out of the market in compliance with USDA's initial notice in 1967 must marvel at the price they have paid for believing PRD meant what it said. The Department of Agriculture has now appealed the case to a higher court.

As the Pax and DDT cases clearly show, federal procedures for cancellation of dangerous pesticides seriously need streamlining. These drawn-out procedures make a mockery of the legal requirement that the burden of establishing safety remains with the maker of a pesticide after it is registered. In the Pax case, the hazards are very concrete and there are no overriding public benefits, given the substitute herbicides and rodenticides available. Yet cancellation procedures offered Pax an almost endless opportunity for delay.

The Fire Ant War

On September 2, (1970) at about 10 a.m., I was sitting under an oak tree eating scuppernongs at our little place in the country when I heard a pitter-patter on the leaves above and noticed yellow flakes falling over me. A low-flying plane had flown over shortly before . . . but I had given no credence to local rumor that [it] was actually broadcasting poison. This

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. . . chlorinated hydrocarbon is washed into our pond from which we eat fish, and into our well. . . . The poisoned insects which were thick atop my lawnmower that afternoon were eaten by the chickens which furnish eggs for our table.

It seems to me that the U.S. Constitution, in the Fourth Amendment, guaranteeing "the right of the people to be secure in their persons" should [protect] anyone who wants to sit under his tree and eat without having poison thrown into his food.

—Reaction of a citizen in Forsyth, Georgia, to the fire ant eradication program.

In the spring of 1968, the Poor People's Campaign was camped out on the steps of the Department of Agriculture lobbying for hunger relief in Mississippi. Up the street on Capitol Hill, the Agricultural Appropriations subcommittee of the Senate was holding hearings. A member of the Mississippi legislature testified before a hushed chamber: "I know from personal experience, and I hope none of you ever have to experience it, how bad this problem is." Senator Russell of Georgia replied: "Yes, the Department of Agriculture just doesn't have the enthusiasm for this program which they have for a number of others which I don't think are as important." The object of all this concern was not hungry children, but the imported fire ant which builds unsightly mounds in Mississippi pastures.

Every three or four years since 1957, the Department of Agriculture has launched a final campaign to wipe out the imported fire ant, and every year the fire ant responds by either holding its own or extending its range. This tiny red insect with a painful sting entered this country from South America about 1918. Originally confined to Mobile, Alabama, it has now spread over parts of nine southern states, building high, hard mounds which sometimes interfere with hay and mowing operations. Occasionally, if disturbed, the ants sting laborers in the fields, picnickers, and school children. But despite its fearful name, the ant is not a major public health or economic problem. A report by the General Accounting Office (GAO) made this assessment in 1965 and the National Research Council affirmed it in 1967. Public health officials in southern states rank the fire ant below mosquitoes, sand flies, stable flies, midges, and stinging caterpillars as a human nuisance. The number of people with a special sensitivity to ant stings is no greater than that of people sensitive to bee and wasp stings. There is little evidence that the ant harms plants, birds, or wildlife. Yet this minor pest has been the target of this nation's longest and most expensive federal pesticide campaign. If the arsenical episode makes the pesticide regulators seem incapable of action when it is vitally needed, the fire ant crusade shows how tenaciously they can pursue a wasteful and dangerous effort when bureaucratic survival is at stake.

Chemical warfare against the fire ant is almost entirely supported by public funds, 50 per cent federal and 50 per cent state. Similar federal efforts to either control or eradicate insects have been directed against the gypsy moth, the spruce budworm, the screwworm, the range caterpillar, and many others. In 1962, Rachel Carson described the fire ant campaign as "an outstanding example of an ill-conceived, badly executed, and thoroughly detrimental experiment in the mass control of insects, an experiment so expensive in dollars, in destruction of animal life, and in loss of public confidence in the Agriculture Department, that it is incomprehensible that any funds should still be devoted to it." At that time the program cost $2 million a year. In 1969, USDA and the Southern Plant Board jointly approved a 12-year program to treat 126 acres, at the cost of $238 million. In 1971, USDA backed away at least temporarily from this grandiose plan but intends to spend $7 million on seven million acres in 1971 to test its

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feasibility. The point is clear: nearly a decade after *Silent Spring* the ant war is still very hot.

Since 1962, the fire ant program has been repudiated by every official panel which has investigated it. The General Accounting Office, the Department of Interior, the National Research Council, and the Federal Water Quality Administration have condemned it as wasteful and potentially hazardous. The Bureau of the Budget has twice tried to cut it out of the budget and Presidents have refused to spend the funds appropriated by Congress. But while the fire ant warriors have lost all the scientific debates, they have successfully worked behind the scenes to sustain and usually increase the scope of their operations every year. More than anything else, the fire ant program is a monument to the power which key congressmen on strategic committees can exercise over environmental policy.

The origins of the fire ant program were suspicious from the start. USDA's 1957 bulletin "Insecticide Recommendations . . . for the Control of Insects Attacking Crops and Livestock" did not even mention the fire ant as a significant pest. But in the same year USDA launched a massive media campaign which portrayed the insect as a despoiler of southern agriculture, a killer of birds, livestock, and even man. USDA even produced a movie depicting the horror of the fire ant's sting (there is one substantiated report of death due to shock from the sting). Beginning in 1957, the Plant Pest Control Division of the Agricultural Research Service (ARS) sprayed thousands of acres with heptachlor and dieldrin at two pounds per acre in a joint program with state officials. By 1960, when two and a half million acres had been treated, the destruction of wildlife from these highly persistent and toxic pesticides had created a national outcry. Wild turkeys, bobwhite quail, raccoons, oppossums, and even cattle died. FDA complained because this use of heptachlor and dieldrin created unsafe residues in milk and other foods.

In 1963, yielding to these pressures, USDA substituted Mirex, a less toxic but still persistent pesticide, for heptachlor and continued the program. In 1964, the excesses of the fire ant program brought down the wrath of the government's watchdog, the General Accounting Office. In a characteristically understated report, the GAO accused USDA of disregarding scientific opinion which minimized the threat of the fire ant and of wasting federal funds. The GAO found that Mirex did not prevent reinfestation. In addition, GAO researchers found no evidence of the extensive crop damage on which USDA based its original decision to pursue the fire ant. A consensus of entomologists at three universities in the heavily infested states of Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi found that the ant did not significantly damage crops or livestock but fed primarily on insects.

Pesty Government

The GAO report impressed officials in the Bureau of the Budget which began to press USDA to cut the program. The Agricultural Research Service, which directed the ant war, reluctantly agreed. In March, 1965, two months after the GAO report, Dr. George Irving, administrator of ARS, and his deputy, Dr. R. J. Anderson, went before Jamie Whitten's House Appropriations agriculture subcommittee with a budget which, for the first time in seven years, had no funds for fire ant control. Irving stated that of all the federal pest control efforts, the fire ant program could be cut "with the least damage to the nation's agricultural production." The original goal of eradication, he concluded, "no longer seems feasible."

Jamie Whitten's response was scornful: "How many other situations have you walked off and left, allowing the insect hazards to spread unrestricted without any substitute means of solving the problem?" Whitten then

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gave the ARS the benefit of the doubt and put the blame on the Bureau of the Budget. Anderson at first refused to take this escape route but, under continuing pressure from Whitten, he began to waver. One of his assistants conceded that the budget cut had come from outside the Department and Anderson himself then became eloquent on the menace of the fire ant (he showed pictures of mounds 24 inches high, spoke of people allergic to the sting, and noted ominously that one pig had died from a fire ant attack). Whitten, triumphant, was then magnanimous: "Thank you, Dr. Anderson. We know of . . . the problems you have when you are here to justify a budget from the Bureau of the Budget." At no point did Whitten acknowledge the existence of the GAO report released two months before. USDA's loyalty to the program, not the merits of the program, was the issue. In the end, he single-handedly resurrected the ant war and gave it $3 million to spend in fiscal year 1966.

In the budget for fiscal year 1967, President Johnson again eliminated the program. But Whitten again restored it, and increased funding to $5 million a year. President Johnson retaliated by freezing $2 million of these funds. At the urging of the Bureau of the Budget, USDA then commissioned a report by the National Research Council on the fire ant. Completed in 1967, the report concluded that "eradication is not now biologically and technically feasible," and that the fire ant causes no significant harm to land values, agriculture production, or health. Armed with this report the ARS went back to Congressman Whitten and asked, not for the elimination of the program, but for a substantial decrease in its budget. Whitten ignored the National Research Council report and criticized the agency for refusing to spend all the funds he appropriated:

Mr. Whitten: You know the committee put the needed funds in here, but the Department has been dragging its feet coming up with one excuse after another not to go ahead with this program. . . . What did the Congress tell you last year?

Dr. Anderson: They told us to get on with the program.

Mr. Whitten: And you did not pay any attention to it?

At this point, in a rare moment for appropriations hearings, where records are usually scrubbed clean of such incidents, Whitten directly threatened Anderson:

Mr. Whitten: We realize we cannot make you go ahead with the program, but if you are not going to do what the Congress says to do, maybe we ought to cut down the money at your level. Doctor, I am serious!

Dr. Anderson: I understand.

The committee swept aside the Administration's effort to cut $2 million from fire ant control and appropriated $6.4 million. The enormity of this sum is revealed when one notes that the total spending for registration and enforcement activities under the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide, and Rodenticide Act in fiscal year 1969 was approximately half this amount. In other words, killing this single insect had a higher priority than screening the other 45,000 pesticide uses on the market for hazards to human health and wildlife.

The strain on Anderson and the other USDA officials who had to confront Whitten was considerable. For three years in a row, they had to go before his committee and ask him to either eliminate or cut back a program he obviously cherished. So great is the power of an appropriations subcommittee chairman that he is capable of reducing the personal staff of an administrator who crosses him, of killing his pet programs, and of otherwise disrupting his agency's plans. Anderson knew that not only his own job, but the personnel levels and priorities of the whole agency were at stake.

Congressman Whitten was not the only fire ant warrior facing USDA officials on Capitol Hill. Equally devoted to the program was Sen. Spessard Holland (D-Fla.), Whitten's

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counterpart on the Senate Appropriations Committee. Holland comes from Florida's panhandle district, which is heavily infested with the ants. In 1967, Holland criticized then Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman for having a negative attitude toward the program. When Freeman replied that his technical people had real doubts about the program's practicality, Holland ordered him to quit stalling and come up with a plan for eradication. In 1968, after Rep. Whitten defied the Bureau of the Budget by giving $5 million for the program, Holland's committee complained that not enough attention was being given to the fire ant and upped the recommendation to $8 million.

In 1970, the executive branch made an about-face on the fire ant and ceased trying to cut the program. USDA asked Whitten for a $2-million increase, and the fire ant budget for fiscal year 1971 hit $7.6 million, the highest in history. It also prepared a proposal for a $200-million program to totally eradicate the fire ant by 1982.

Reap What You Spray

Mirex, the pesticide used to kill the fire ant, is a chlorinated hydrocarbon. It is mixed with corn cob grits and soybean oil to form a bait. While its acute toxicity is relatively low, far less than heptachlor, which it replaced, it does have some disturbing qualities. Mirex breaks down rapidly when left in the open (often within 48 hours) but it is extremely stable in the fatty tissues of animals which ingest it. Like DDT, Mirex residues become increasingly concentrated as they move up the food chain, reaching their highest concentrations in fish, birds, and man. A study of pesticide residues in 500 samples of oysters and shellfish from estuaries on the Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific Coasts discloses that Mirex is already the fourth most abundant pesticide residue, exceeded only by DDT, Endrin, and Toxaphene. An extensive survey of large vertebrates collected in the vicinity of Savannah, Georgia, and St. Petersburg, Florida, showed that Mirex was present in dosages of up to four parts per million in *all* samples.

In 1969, the Mrak Commission reported that Mirex was one of a small number of pesticides found to cause tumors in test animals. It placed Mirex in category B, the classification for potentially carcinogenic compounds, and strongly recommended that human exposure to these compounds "be minimized":

> Use of these pesticides [should] be restricted to those purposes for which there are . . . advantages to human health which outweigh the potential hazards of carcinogenicity.

In addition to being a potential carcinogen, tests by Drs. Gaines and Kimbrough at the FDA Toxicology Laboratory in Chamblee, Georgia, found Mirex to cause birth defects in test animals. When fed to pregnant rats at 25 parts per million, Mirex passed through the placenta of the mother and reduced the number of offspring. It also caused cataracts in the suckling pups. Mirex was excreted through the mothers' milk and stored in their livers.

It is for these reasons that officials at every level of government have questioned the safety as well as the wisdom of the fire ant program. In a letter to the Secretary of Agriculture, then Secretary of the Interior Walter Hickel, who banned the use of Mirex in national parks, said:

> We are concerned that the Department of Agriculture's proposed 12-year campaign to eradicate the fire ant in the southern United States may represent a threat to the environment of far greater consequence than the problems now created by the insect itself. Consequently, we cannot support your program as proposed.

On March 18, 1971, the Environmental Protection Agency began a full scientific review of Mirex. But in the meantime the program will go on undisturbed.

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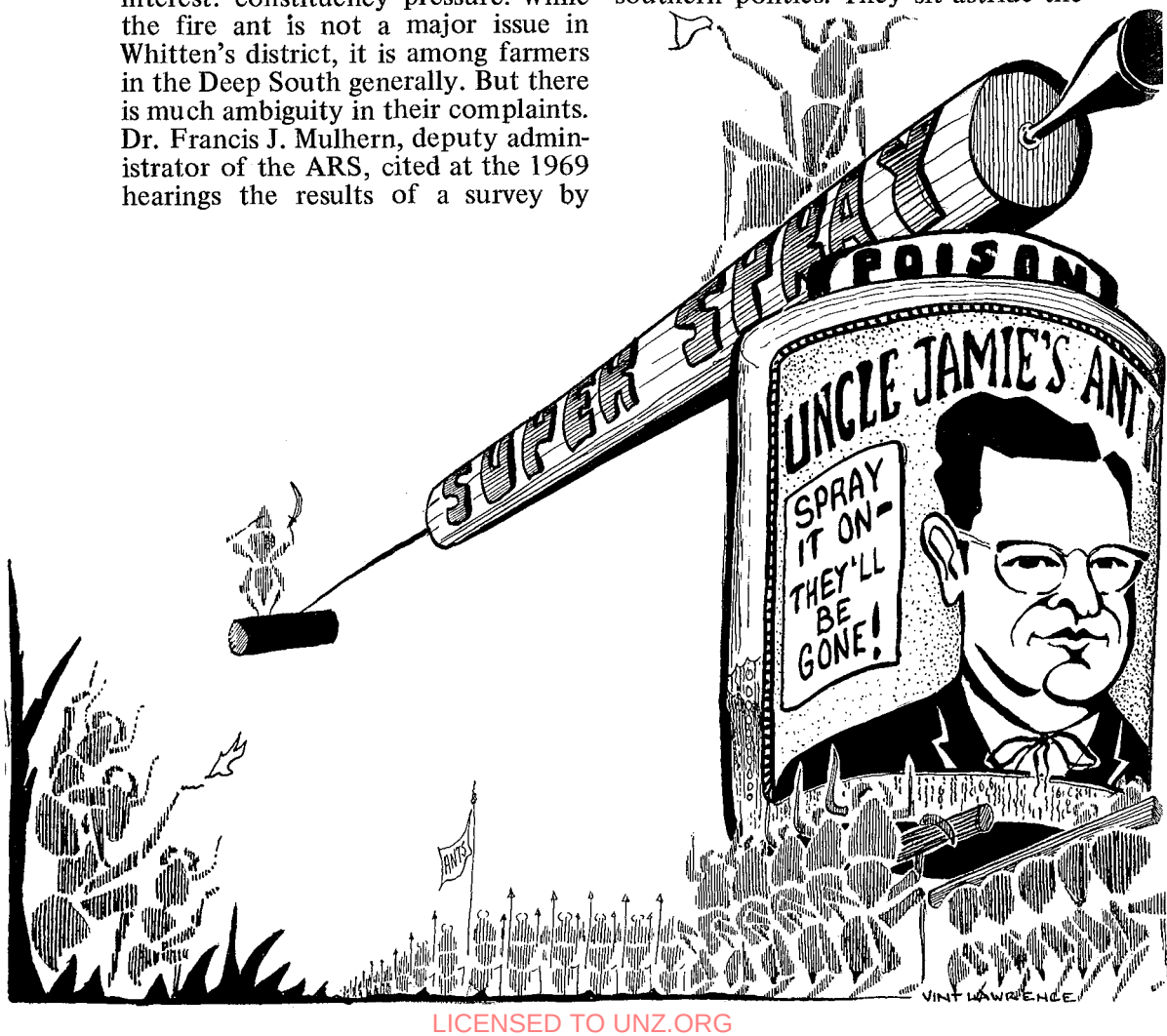
Too Many Rats Anyhow

Why are Rep. Jamie Whitten and his allies in the Senate so devoted to fire ant eradication? Some observers feel that Whitten's ego now ties him to the program. He fought Rachel Carson and then the budget cutters in the federal government for years and now refuses to back down. Others see significance in the fact that Allied Chemical has a Mirex bait plant in Prairie, Mississippi. The plant, however, has only 15 employees. The $1-million annual sales of Mirex are a tiny fraction of Allied Chemical's $1.24 billion annual sales business. Mirex, therefore, hardly seems worth a major political payoff.

Whitten's staff gives a more prosaic explanation of the Congressman's interest: constituency pressure. While the fire ant is not a major issue in Whitten's district, it is among farmers in the Deep South generally. But there is much ambiguity in their complaints. Dr. Francis J. Mulhern, deputy administrator of the ARS, cited at the 1969 hearings the results of a survey by county agents of farmer attitudes toward fire ant control. It reveals the remarkable indifference of farmers to the menace. Over 80 per cent of the county agents in the survey found that fewer than half the farmers in infested areas tried to control the fire ant. Even when the Georgia Department of Agriculture made free Mirex available, there were few takers.

As these facts suggest, there is much reason to doubt the spontaneity of pressure by the average farmer for fire ant control. The program *does* have genuine support among southern farm bureaucrats, however, for reasons which have little to do with the threat of the fire ant.

The prime movers in the campaign have been the commissioners of agriculture in the southern states. These commissioners are powerful men in southern politics. They sit astride the



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flow of agricultural subsidies and benefits which amounts to the largest source of outside capital for many impoverished southern counties. They also control substantial patronage. The southern commissioners have long been the most vocal lobbyists on Capitol Hill for fire ant control. Since 1967, USDA has not made a move on the program without consulting the southern commissioners in advance.

Nowhere is the fire ant program more entrenched in local politics than in the state of Georgia. Phil Campbell, the Georgia commissioner, made eradication a personal crusade during the sixties when the Bureau of the Budget was challenging the program. Campbell is now the Under Secretary of Agriculture. As chief propagandist for fire ant control, he described the fire ant as a "people pest" and warned legislators that if they did not vote funds to stamp out the ant, the people of Georgia would rise up and stamp them out.

In fact, Campbell had a bona fide interest in supporting the program but it had little to do with killing ants. Funds for fire ant control were the largest item in his department's budget. In 1965, for example, Campbell received $850,000 to kill ants, well over half of all funds appropriated for his department. The funds could not be spent unless they were matched by federal grants. This inconvenience forced Campbell to carry his propaganda campaign across state lines. And 1965 was the year when Dr. R. J. Anderson of the Agricultural Research Service went before Whitten's subcommittee and requested no more funds for fire ant control. Without federal funds, Campbell would have to turn back his money to the state. Campbell, therefore, visited Whitten to protest ARS's action and Whitten obliged by restoring the program.

An obscure but significant point here is that the fire ant program was not a line item in Campbell's departmental budget but was appropriated by the Georgia assembly as general funds. In 1970, Tommy Irvin, who took over as commissioner of agriculture when Campbell went to Washington to become USDA's number two man, startled Georgia legislators by revealing that "in the past, maybe as high as 25 to 30 per cent of some years' appropriations for fire ants were not used for fire ants." He stated that control efforts spanning 10 years and costing $5 million in state funds were "wasted" and promised that in the future, fire ant money would not be used for other things.

The import of Irvin's revelation was that Campbell had been using fire ant money as a slush fund for other projects in his department. Between 1965 and 1969, Campbell was frequently mentioned as a potential gubernatorial candidate and was widely thought to be using his position as agricultural commissioner to build a political empire in the state. Scare stories about the fire ant brought him the funds he needed for other purposes. As a reporter for the *Atlanta Constitution* observed upon hearing Irvin's speech, "I have heard of men building empires over broken bodies, but Phil is first to try to build one on dead ants."

Georgia environmentalists fighting Mirex find that their biggest obstacle is the fearful image of the fire ant which has been instilled in the minds of rural people by Campbell's propaganda. The Southern Association of Information Officers of State Departments of Agriculture, with which Campbell was and is closely associated, does its best to promote a nightmarish picture of the insect. "This gluttonous ant," says a press release, "indiscriminately gobbles insects and spiders, dispatching them with its cobra-like sting. From fort-like mounds up to a yard high and only a few feet apart, the ants send out armies of some 100,000 foragers per mound, driven by an insatiable lust for the oily juices of anything alive."

The fire ant remains a fixture of Georgia farm politics. In February, 1971, a joint appropriations committee of the Georgia legislature debated

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whether to continue the program and invited experts pro and con from around the nation to testify. The tone was set by Rep. Dorsey Matthews of Moultrie, chairman of the Georgia House Agriculture Committee. He held a jar of fire ants in his hand and gestured toward a mangled potato on the table. The potato, he said, had been "ridiculed" by fire ants. He then gave a gavel-pounding, ranting speech, the *piece de resistance* of which was a letter he had received from a "world-famous doctor from down here in Buena Vista, Georgia." The chairman said the doctor had advised him that fire ants were the real cause of scarlet fever, cancer, Bright's Disease, and another ailment which he said he could not pronounce and besides, he did not know what it was anyway. He was assisted by Buck Ross, the Mississippi commissioner of agriculture, who stated that he knew of at least a dozen people killed in his state by the fire ant.

The opposition could not begin to match this performance. Their statements were ponderous with facts and esoteric terminology. When a representative of the American Medical Association pointed out that Mirex caused cancer in laboratory rats, Rep. Matthews replied: "Doctor, that don't bother me. Nobody eats rats in my district. Besides we got too many rats anyhow."

The testimony about the potential long-term hazards of Mirex bombardments on the Georgia countryside did impress urban legislators, but they traded away opposition to fire ant control in return for rural votes for a local option rapid transit tax in Atlanta. Conservationists were left holding the bag.

Riding the Fire Ant

The organizational politics behind the fire ant program in the Deep South is reinforced by organizational interests in USDA. When an agency is assigned a program the size of the fire ant campaign, it significantly expands its share of bureaucratic turf. More staff is hired, more office space is allocated, new field offices may be opened, new constituencies are cemented, and careers are staked on the success of the program. This has been the case with the Plant Protection Division of the Agricultural Research Service, which has received as much as half its budget for fighting ants over the last five years. While its leaders may have had momentary doubts about the program in the mid-sixties, officials down the line have given it strong support. Their devotion reflects the fact that the agency gets many internal rewards from the program which are entirely independent of its success in killing ants.

For example, according to officials in the Bureau of the Budget, the ant war is the major justification for maintaining the methods improvement lab in Gulfport, Mississippi, a vacation spa on the Gulf Coast and considered a choice assignment for Plant Protection Division personnel. When the fire ant program began to fail, these vested interests made it very difficult for the agency to give it up. As a general principle, when a government program appears wasteful and futile, and its agency remains doggedly devoted to it, it is well to stop analyzing its merits and look more closely—there will usually be intimate organizational interests which keep it alive.

If the program has anything to do with food or farmers, it is also well to look for Rep. Jamie Whitten, who recently followed the fire ant regulators through a departmental shift. Until November, 1970, the Pesticide Regulation Division was a sub-agency in the Department of Agriculture, whose appropriations went through Whitten's subcommittee. Now the PRD has been transferred to the new Environmental Protection Agency, but most of the old USDA employees went with the PRD and so did Rep. Whitten—who extended his subcommittee's control in the present Congress to include the appropriations for the Environmental Protection Agency

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(as well as for the Food and Drug Administration and the Federal Trade Commission).

There have been many instances of the subversion of science by the fire ant program. In *Since Silent Spring*, Frank Graham writes that state entomologists in Georgia wrote to Sen. Richard Russell in an attempt to get a Fish and Wildlife biologist transferred from the state after he questioned the program. Similar retaliation was taken against biologists in Alabama and Florida. This kind of intimidation is still occurring. Dr. Denzel Ferguson, a zoologist at Mississippi State University, became critical of the fire ant effort after participating in an evaluation of the program's feasibility. After he had voiced his doubts in professional circles, he received a visit from a high university official who warned him that the fire ant was a very sensitive political issue. The message was clear: the university might suffer funding reversals in the state legislature if one of its faculty criticized the program. Professor Ferguson, nevertheless, established CLEAN, a group of Mississippi environmentalists, which joined the Environmental Defense Fund and the National Wildlife Federation in legal action to stop the program. This bravado by Mississippi scientists is worthy of tribute, but the costs have been great. Professor Ferguson lost his job at the university and has now left the state.

In 1970, the National Wildlife Federation, the Environmental Defense Fund, and CLEAN were denied their request for an injunction against the spraying of Mirex in the 1971 season. The only chance to stop the program now is in the White House, which could freeze the funds. Seven million dollars for fire ant control in 1971 is an embarrassing item in President Nixon's austerity budget, but he will probably continue to support the program. The fire ant campaign has become a hostage of the Southern strategy. In 1968, in a speech in Atlanta, Georgia, Nixon promised to continue the ant war if elected, and Phil Campbell is just down the street to remind him if he tries to renege.

Environmentalists, like foreign affairs analysts, tend to use rational models of decision-making to explain policy outcomes, and just as often, they are betrayed by them. The fire ant program is entrenched in the bureaucratic and organizational politics of the agricultural establishment and more facts and scientific testimony will not budge it. Environmentalists would be advised to focus their energies on political organization and lobbying on the floor of the House. They should juxtapose the hazards and waste of the fire ant war against the need for day-care centers, cancer research, pollution control, and other national priorities.

The Azodrin Boomerang

The farmer is often the greatest single victim of pesticide abuse. Misuse of pesticides not only threatens his health but increases his cost of production and may actually reduce his yield in the long run by killing valuable insect predators and parasites and hastening the development of chemical-resistant pests. Environmentalists, in making the farmer a scapegoat for pesticide pollution, have turned off a potentially powerful ally.

Mr. Hobe of Hobe Ranches has been a top cotton farmer in Madera County, California, for over 20 years. Between 1961 and 1965, the cotton from his fields, nourished by the bright sunshine and irrigation water of the San Joaquin Valley, averaged from 15 per cent to 50 per cent more pounds per acre than the average for his county.

In April, 1966, he planted 163 acres of cotton on his three ranches. By mid-July, the cotton was progressing well and had a good set of bolls. Then one day, Hobe noticed a small number of bollworms feeding on the buds and bolls of his cotton.

Like many farmers, he visited his local pesticide supplier for advice.

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Without inspecting Hobe's fields, the supplier suggested that he try Azodrin, an exciting new organophosphate pesticide produced by Shell Chemical Company. In mid-July, Hobe applied one quart of Azodrin to each of his 163 acres. The impact was startling. Insect life in the fields appeared to vanish. The broad spectrum pesticide Azodrin moved like wildfire through the insect colonies of the cotton fields, killing pest and predator alike, sweeping the field clean of insect life.

Ten days later, life suddenly returned. Incredulously, Hobe watched the eradicated bollworm stage a population explosion in his fields. Where there had been two or three worms before Azodrin, there were now a dozen or more devouring the cotton bolls and causing them to drop to the ground. Thoroughly panicked, Hobe saturated his land with multiple applications of more familiar pesticides—methylparathion, DDT, and toxaphene. This expense was futile, for the bollworms were out of control. In early September, Hobe surveyed his fields and found damage so extensive that further application of insecticides was pointless.

The bollworm outbreak at Hobe Ranches is a classic example of how the use of pesticides in defiance of ecological principles can victimize the farmer. Taking the advice of his chemical salesman, Mr. Hobe had applied Azodrin in late July. The bollworm moth was laying its eggs on the plant. The eggs hatched in three days and the larvae then fed on the fruiting parts of the plant for a period of 11 to 15 days until the bolls dropped to the ground.

Unfortunately for Mr. Hobe, the bollworm at this stage is peculiarly adapted to escape the destruction of Azodrin. The poison does not kill the bollworm eggs and it does not completely penetrate the cotton boll where the bollworm larvae are busily eating away the farmer's profits. The bollworm's enemies are not as fortunate. Tests conducted by Shell Chemical Company in 1964 and 1965 showed that Azodrin could cause a severe depression of the beneficial insect population for as long as 30 days. With its natural predators eliminated, the bollworm resurged in devastating numbers and Mr. Hobe's crop was lost.

This disaster was repeated on hundreds of farms throughout the San Joaquin Valley in 1967 and helped to make cotton production that year one of the worst in a decade. This ecological boomerang is not unique to the San Joaquin Valley, however. It has happened on a vaster scale elsewhere in the United States and in many of the world's cotton-growing areas. Farmers in these widely scattered regions have a common source for their plight: the flagrant overuse of pesticides without regard for the ecological principles which control their impact on life in their fields. At the Hobe Ranches in the San Joaquin Valley, misuse of pesticides led to pest resurgence, the sudden onslaught of a pest species when all of its natural controls had been removed. Other consequences have been the development of chemical-resistent pests and costly pest trade-offs—in which a harmless animal suddenly becomes damaging after a pesticides destroys its natural enemies.

Plowshares into Spray Cans

The ignorance of farmers and pesticide reformers alike of the basic ecological nature of pest control has made it easy for the chemical industry to drive a wedge between them. Pointing to a few strident critics who would casually ban all pesticides, the companies have convinced the farmer that any control threatens all pesticides and that therefore the farmer and the agri-chemical industry must stand or fall together. The reformers often encourage this unholy alliance by appearing to attack the basic concept of chemical controls, failing to recognize that pesticides, when used as ecologically selective tools, are often neces-

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sary in helping to maintain the balance of some insect populations.

Unfortunately, pesticide critics tend to view the use of chemicals by farmers only in terms of a conflict between private property rights—the right of the farmer to exploit his land as he sees fit—and the public interest in avoiding fish kills, food contamination, destruction of wildlife, and the other harmful fallout from the misuse of pesticides on private land. They hold the farmer responsible as one who willingly pollutes to increase his profits. This view of the farmer makes two assumptions: that present patterns of pesticide use are profitable for the farmer, and that the farmer could stop their use if he would only try.

The picture is not so simple. The farmer, in fact, is often a pawn of economic and corporate forces which chain him to a costly pesticide treadmill. The farmer is forced to walk the treadmill, even when it has brought the use of pesticides to the point of diminishing returns on many of his crops. Today, 20 years after the widespread introduction of synthetic chemicals in agriculture, there are more insect species of pest status than ever before; many of the most harmful pests have developed resistance to insecticides; the resulting use of ever more toxic pesticides has greatly increased the risks of human poisoning; and the costs of pest control to the farmer have mushroomed.

The phenomenal increase in the use of pesticides in the last two decades has advanced the corporate trend in food production, to the detriment of the small farmer. The land retirement strategy of national agricultural policy, because it focuses on acreage and not production control, has allowed growers to substitute pesticides for inputs of land and maintain production. USDA then reduced acreage allotments still further. This has a disastrous impact on the small farmer who finds his permitted acreage slipping below the total necessary for a viable production unit, while at the same time being forced to apply increasing doses of pesticides which he cannot afford. While the small farmer is squeezed out, the large farmer and the corporation, with their larger capital resources, move in. This trend is not necessarily to be condemned, but like the hazards of increased human exposure to chemical residues, its consequences have not been adequately explored.

At the present time, neither the farmer nor the environmentalist understands the other's problems. Both extremes—unrestricted pesticide use and a total pesticide ban—are perilous. In a very fundamental sense, the proper use of pesticides depends on an understanding by both the farmer and the environmentalist of the ecological principles which govern a pesticide's impact on life in the fields and meadows where it is applied.

The most disturbing feature of current concern over the environment is how few people have the confidence to act. Often the feeling of powerlessness stems from a poverty of imagination—a failure which prevents one from converting the sense of indignation stirred by critical insights into an operational technique. In part, this is a result of a fashionable preference for cosmic thinking, for thinking about ideal solutions in an ideal world, which instills a reluctance to take one step unless one knows in advance how the journey will turn out. Because the individual feels he can do nothing about the larger problems, he is passive on the more managable ones.

The Nader task force members found an antidote for this malaise. They examined one sector of a problem, one part of what was going on, and tried to act responsibly within the limits of what they understood, even if they did not know its implications for the historical process or some other cosmic scheme. In doing so, they gained the confidence to act, and in most cases the assurance that while the government considered them nuisances, it had to concede that they were constructive nuisances. ■

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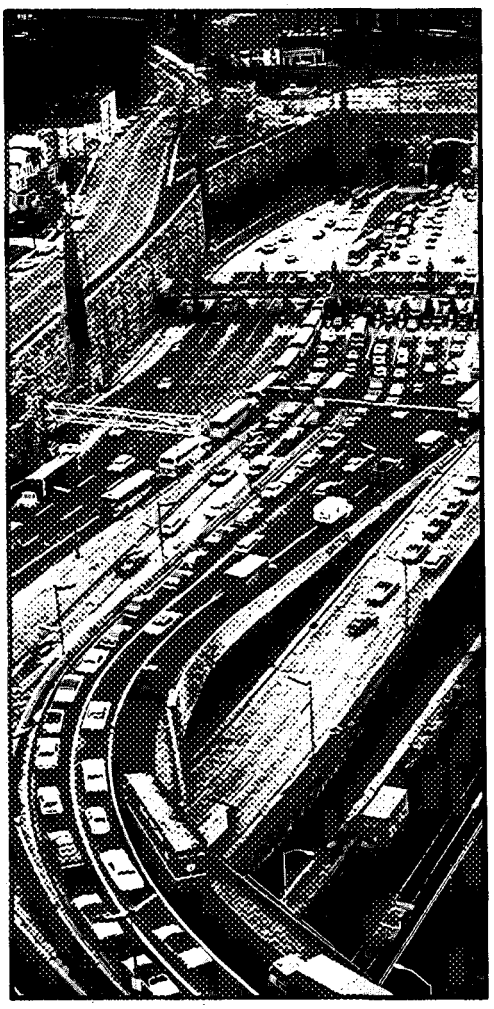
The Twilight Zone of Government

by John Rothchild



Any motorist entering Manhattan these days is victimized by the World Trade Center in two ways. He cannot avoid looking at it, and if he crosses the Hudson River, he cannot avoid paying for it. This is because the twin, 110-story towers of hyperthyroid real estate are being put up by the Port Authority, the same folks that are supposed to coordinate transportation in the harbor area and who have a state-granted monopoly on all Hudson River crossings.

Most of the bridges and tunnels have long since paid for themselves, their revenue bonds retired. So for each dollar that goes to the tollkeeper at the Holland Tunnel, over 80 cents makes its way back through the fiscal roots of the Authority to nourish new projects like the Trade Center, which become a kind of monument to heavy traffic, to the power of authorities, and to exact change.

The motorist who is aware of his tithe to the real estate business may wonder how the Port Authority, a tax-exempt, bi-state public transportation agency with tremendous political and financial advantages, could be constructing nine million square feet

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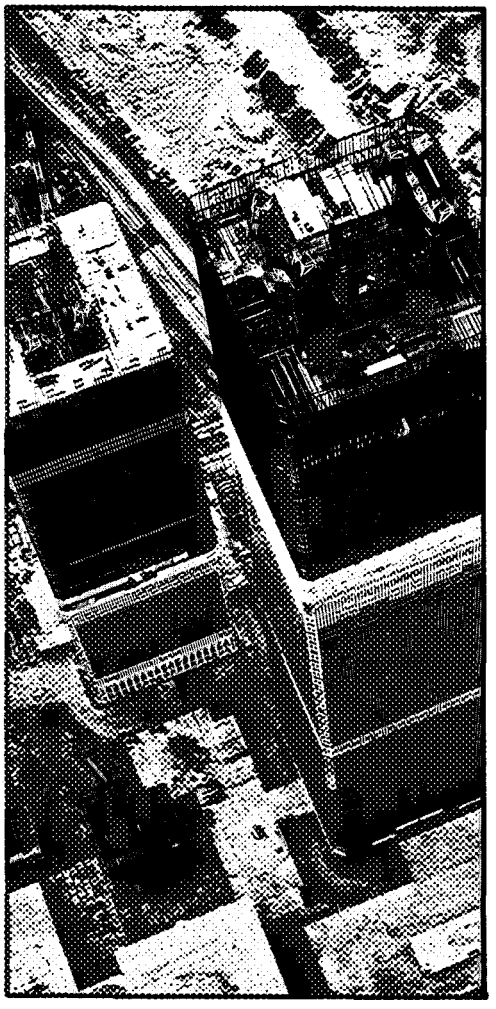
of office space in Manhattan. The problem becomes more perplexing when you consider that the World Trade Center not only uses up Authority revenues and borrowing power that could go into needed areas of mass transit, but also because an office building that will draw 130,000 people a day will surely aggravate Manhattan traffic even more.

The port agency, the first and probably most prosperous public authority ever created in the United States, was established in 1921 by New York and New Jersey precisely to combat such short-sightedness. Its creators thought that by taking an agency out of patronage politics and giving it a clear, public status, it would acquire the efficiencies of private enterprise without the greed, plus the powers of government without the corruption. With tax-exempt status, powers of condemnation and eminent domain, independence from civil service regulations and many municipal ordinances, and a self-supporting financial base, the Authority was freed from the petty concerns and bureaucracy that thwart other agencies. Its planners could develop a rational transportation policy and then have the autonomy and power to put the plans into action.



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While its structure differs from many other authorities and like-minded bodies, the Authority is the direct ancestor of Comsat, the TVA, Railpax, the new Post Office corporation, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, and other organizations that promise to do better than government by being quasi. The spinning-off of public function now occurs regularly enough so that there are hundreds of bi-state authorities in the United States. In New York City, while the number of people working in municipal service has gone up 60-90,000 during the Lindsay administration, making a total of 412,000, the number under the mayor's direct control has dropped from 153,000 to 132,000. This trend makes it worth looking at the Port Authority, for 40 years considered the greatest success in New York public affairs, to show, as critic Paul O'Dwyer puts it, "How we have taken society and confounded everybody in the manner in which we have screwed ourselves."

Quasi versus King Kong

The Authority enjoys advantages over private capitalists almost as great as those it holds over other public agencies. The World Trade Center, for instance, not only bested the Empire State Building in phallic monumentality—110 stories to 102, an eight-story insult to capitalism and to King Kong—but also in financial potency. The two buildings grappled across Manhattan through lawsuits—the Empire State building, owned by Lawrence Wien and defended by Paul O'Dwyer, representing free enterprise and the American way, attacking the World Trade Center, representing Japanese architecture and the new industrial state. Ostensibly, Wien's lawsuit charged that the Trade Center was stealing all the television towers and broadcasting facilities away from Empire by offering the networks the eight-story macho advantage, plus rent-free occupancy until 1984, when their contractual obligations to Empire would cease, or when the world would be over, anyway. The exodus of the transmitters would cost Empire $56 million a year plus the symbolic affront. So Wien and other realtors sued the Authority, on the grounds that television broadcasting had nothing to do with world trade, hence did not belong in the center, and that the Port Authority could not justify a high-rise under its mandate to improve commerce and transportation in the New York Harbor area. O'Dwyer's brief pointed out the Authority's advantages in the use of its tax-exempt bonds, enabling it to charge lower rents. "What we have here is not the usual competition for tenants between two private real estate ventures," the brief said, "but, as we have shown, the complaint of persons grievously and particularly injured by the unauthorized conduct of a public agency."

The Port Authority's answer to the charges in the suit is that the Trade Center will house only firms engaged in international commerce, that its rental fees will be equal to the going rates in Manhattan, and that its payment to the city in lieu of taxes will be equal to what a private owner would pay. Over one third of the building, however, is being occupied by the State of New York, and another substantial portion by the U. S. Customs Office. While the Authority is paying the city an amount equal to the taxes that would be levied against the part of the building occupied by commercial firms, it is not paying for 50 per cent of the space taken up by the government agencies. This amount would have to be paid were these agencies to occupy a private building. So the city loses while the Authority, which can charge the going rents without paying the going taxes, gains.

From a less lofty plane of free enterprise, the Port Authority was also sued by the Courtesy Sandwich Shop, pushed out of business by the Trade Center. Courtesy questioned the constitutionality of the Port Authority's powers of eminent domain, and its

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right to acquire property for construction of a predominantly commercial enterprise having only a tenuous connection with the public purposes. Both the Empire and Courtesy suits were ultimately dismissed.

While the courts have given it no legal boost, the states' blessings on the Port Authority have enabled it to accumulate assets of $2.6 billion. The Authority now enjoys "surpluses" of more than $55 million a year after mandatory debt service (the word "profits" has never been a part of Authority vocabulary). It now runs the Newark, JFK, and LaGuardia airports, the George Washington, Goethals, Outerbridge, and Bayonne bridges, the Lincoln and Holland tunnels, the Manhattan heliports, the giant containerized shipping facilities on the New Jersey side of the harbor, and the midtown bus terminal. Aside from being exempt from federal, state, and local taxes (the Authority does make some payments to local governments in lieu of real estate taxes) and being able to generate revenue by selling tax-exempt bonds, the Authority also has a monopoly on all Hudson River crossings and all airports in the New York City area.

The Quiet Toll Collector

Dick Shaap recently wrote in *New York* magazine that "next to the man who threw the switch up in Ontario, the chairman of the Port Authority has had the greatest single-handed impact on New York's way of life." You get some feel for what Shaap meant by sitting in any cab at rush hour, as time contracts and the fare expands, when you can feel a tight emotional communion with the Port Authority and wonder how many divorces, lung diseases, ulcers, fistfights, arguments, sarcasms, and walking papers, have been caused directly by the transportation experts who work for Austin J. Tobin.

Austin J. Tobin is the chairman Shaap is talking about, but actually he is executive director of the Port Au-

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thority. He worked for the agency almost from the start, rose to become director in 1942 and has held that post ever since (a few years ago, he revised the mandatory retirement age upward from 65 to 70 so he could stay on a little longer). At $70,000 a year, Tobin is one of the highest-paid public officials in America, and he runs the Authority by combining mystique and discipline much the way that Papa Doc did. He has pumped his agency to galactic proportions while remaining miraculously anonymous himself—while he has more power than Robert Moses, his former counterpart at the Triborough Tunnel and Bridge Authority, which handled the East River franchises much as the Port Authority ran the Hudson side, he is as unknown as Moses is flamboyant. Anonymity may be no insurance of power, but the Port Authority is still growing and Tobin is still around, while Moses is gone and the Triborough has been merged into the umbrella transportation agency, the MTA. And Tobin is the only man who completely understands the legal and financial voodoo that now gives his Authority its magical immunity from what he once called the "disease" of mass transportation.

If mass transit is, in fact, a disease, the Port Authority is fiscally inoculated to handle it. While Tobin imagines earthquakes on the balance sheet the minute the Authority touches any deficit operation, State Comptroller Arthur Levitt estimates that the Authority could generate at least $1 billion in additional borrowing capacity by 1973 through the sale of more of its tax-exempt bonds. But even if bonds could not be sold, the Port Authority has ample revenues after mandatory debt retirement that could be used to help alleviate the problems that its cars have helped create. Levitt points out that the Authority has financed $324-million worth of construction projects during the decade of the 1960s by borrowing money at the beginning of each year and paying it back from operating revenues at the end. If this construction were financed with long-term loans or bonds, the Authority could have used the short-term borrowing technique to pump money into subways or commuter railways, without jeopardizing its debt retirement schedule.

The surpluses have increased in recent years, and will continue to do so, if the Authority nets the expected $36 million a year from the World Trade Center. In 1969 the Authority took in $122 million in revenues while paying out $26,363,000 in mandatory long-term debt requirements and $25 million in interest payments. This left a balance of over $70 million, $15 million of which was used for the short-term loans and $55 million for surplus. The $70 million is pure gravy money, profit beyond the Authority credit, operating expenses, or debt service. It would be enough to cover half the annual deficit of the New York subway system. The entire subway deficit would be taken care of if the Authority were willing to use some of its extra $1 billion borrowing capacity or loosen its conservative debt service requirements.

While the Authority people explain their efficiency and success on the grounds that they are independent from the usual political pressures, they point to political pressures as the reason they have not gotten involved in mass transit. They say that they are merely a servant agency, carrying out the decisions of the governors, who appoint Port Authority commissioners and can reject its projects by vetoing the minutes of its meetings, and the two state legislatures, who must approve every new Port Authority activity.

Austin Tobin is increasingly fond of this rationale. In 1960, when Representative Emanuel Celler's House Judiciary Committee held hearings on the Port Authority, Tobin was told to produce certain subpoenaed documents. He refused and was later cited for contempt of Congress, although the courts finally overturned the cita-

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tion. Tobin explained his refusal by pointing out that he was merely doing what the two governors had told him to do, protecting the rights of a state agency against unfair control by the federal government. He was under their direction and was just following orders.

In reality, however, the Port Authority has more than passive interest in the orders it follows. Tobin spoke of several telegrams the governors had sent to all congressmen, urging them to support the side of the Port Authority against federal encroachment. Later, it was discovered that the Port Authority drafted the telegrams, got the governors to sign them, and sent them at its own expense.

More recently, one Port Authority intern was told not to wear an anti-ABM button because it was illegal for any employee to engage in political activities. The next week he was asked to participate in a nationwide telephone blitz from Authority offices, where employees called hundreds of municipalities to urge them to oppose a specific bill then being considered by Congress.

Telephone Blitz

Again, in 1958, the Authority claimed its political virginity while meddling behind the scenes. Governor Rockefeller was then seeking a way to help the state's commuter railroads, already on their way to bankruptcy. His advisor on mass transportation matters, Robert Purcell, suggested that the Port Authority be called in to help. Under Purcell's plan, the Port Authority would buy new railroad cars through issuance of bonds and then lease the cars to the railroads. The debt would be paid off through the rental fees.

The loyal allegiance to the state governors that Tobin would later solemnly pledge to Celler's committee, where he said he was merely protecting the sovereignty of his public superiors by refusing to provide documents, was somehow missing when he heard of Rockefeller's commuter plan. As usual, he was willing for the Authority to act on the orders of governors, but not before he told the governors what to tell the Port Authority to do. To this end, Tobin dispatched letters to the major investment firms that held Authority bonds, urging them to oppose the Rockefeller proposal and to protect "the fiduciary interest of the customers to whom you have sold your hundreds of millions of dollars in Port Authority bonds."

As in the case of the governors' telegrams to Celler, Tobin had to make sure he was completely conforming to the wishes and opinions of the bondholders, and to do that, he had to form their opinions himself. His staff wrote up "suggested letters" and sent them along to the various firms, with the proposal that they put the thoughts in their own words and pass them along to Rockefeller. While most firms went along with Tobin, Blythe and Co., one of the most respected of the houses, refused to send the letter. One Blythe official said the Authority's credit could not be jeop-

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ardized by a railroad car program of only $100 million. At this, Tobin sent a staff member over to see the Blythe official, Reginald Schmidt. Tobin even made a phone call to Schmidt, which the latter described as "rude, officious, and impertinent." It was merely Tobin's zeal to put pressure on Blythe to put pressure on the governor, whom, of course, the Port Authority would gladly obey.

When the New York gambit did not succeed, Tobin, like the early Mafia leaders, sought more friendly territory on the other side of the bi-state schizophrenia, in New Jersey. He saw Dwight Palmer, then New Jersey commissioner of transportation, and convinced him that it would be a public disservice to the people of New Jersey for that state to go along with Rockefeller's proposals. Tobin hinted the disservice would be the loss of future Authority projects if the rail car program were allowed to happen. Palmer was convinced.

Squeezed between Wall Street and New Jersey, Rockefeller capitulated. He agreed to tell the Port Authority to handle the program another way—the Authority would administer the program, but the bonds would be guaranteed by the states' own credit. Even though the Authority had repeatedly said it would not pledge the credit of state governments, it was willing to be flexible as far as progress was concerned. It was willing to administer the program, as long as none of its own money was jeopardized. When the program turned out to be a success, the Authority began referring to it as part of its gracious contribution to mass transit.

A Covenant with Profit

Over the years, the Authority has mastered the technique of roping itself in, helping the politicians tie the knots, and then complaining that it is trapped. It claims that even if it does have the financial capability to support subways or rail operations, complicated legal obligations to the bondholders make it impossible for the bulk of its assets to be freed. Most of these are directly pledged to various classes of bonds, and the leftover is put into a General Reserve Fund, which must carry an amount equal to 10 per cent of the total debt of the Authority and must have enough money to pay two years' future debt requirement. The capital still available for new uses from this fund is further prohibited from deficit rail transit through a 1962 covenant between the states and the bondholders.

What the Port Authority fails to mention in all this is its own cooperation in pushing these various laws and covenants through the legislature, cooperation it gave freely in 1962.

In that year, the legislatures considered a bill which contained authorization for the World Trade Center. The Port Authority naturally supported the bill, both because the Trade Center was a big money project, and because it would enable the Authority to expend some revenues that were accumulating into a dangerously large reservoir that was attracting the scrutiny of public transportation groups and politicians.

On the other side of the river, New Jersey had nothing to gain from the World Trade Center, but its legislature also had to approve the project. The Authority then decided, notwithstanding its long years of insisting that it would never enter any deficit transit operation, to take over the bankrupt Hudson and Manhattan Railroad, now called PATH. PATH would both give something to New Jersey and calm the rising criticism of the Authority.

In the juggle of interests, the Authority came out with more than this quid pro quo. In return for its acquisition of PATH, it also got the 1962 covenant, perhaps the most important piece of Authority legislation since the original compact. In it, the states agree with each other and the bondholders that the Port Authority essentially cannot be required to pledge any of its revenues or reserves to any future mass transit projects. The cov-

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enant formula provides that the Authority not undertake any transit operation where the deficit, plus the continuing PATH deficit, adds up to more than one per cent of the Authority's total outstanding debt. The PATH deficit in 1970 was $13 million. There was no way the Port Authority could take on further mass transit that year, since the total it could spend under the formula was $12.7 million. The Authority will continue to be blocked in similar fashion. And the covenant is between the states and the bondholders, which means that any Authority help in subways or other rail facilities could be blocked by a bondholder's suit.

The 1962 covenant also reassures the bondholders that the legislatures will not "diminish or impair the power of Port Authority (or any subsidiary corporation. . .) to establish, levy and collect rentals, fares, fees or other charges in connection with any facility. . . or to determine the quantity, quality, frequency or nature or the service provided. . . ." This provision, according to labor mediator Theodore Kheel, who has brought suit to invalidate the covenant, makes it impossible for any future legislature to tell the Authority how or how much to collect for tolls, or when to keep the bridges open.

Grabbing the Winners

The World Trade Center bill and PATH railroad bills, complete with covenants, were passed as a package by both legislatures. At the end of this bargaining process, the Port Authority had gotten everything it could have wanted. It got the largest building in the world, and the opportunity to spend $650 million on a profit-making operation rather than risking that money in a deficit transportation venture. It took over a small railroad which could not possibly dent its more than $2 billion in assets and got the promise that it would never have to undertake another such venture again.

The 1962 covenant is now being used as a reason the Authority cannot undertake to build or finance rail links between JFK Airport and Manhattan, and Newark Airport and Newark. Even though both legislatures have passed bills authorizing the construction of these links, the Authority is still "studying the feasibility," a sure delaying tactic for an agency that is noted for quick action. Some feel the rail links would violate the covenant and bring bondholders' suits stopping the Port Authority's participation in the projects. Others, like William Ronan, head of the Metropolitan Transportation Authority and a Port Authority commissioner, says the Authority can get around the covenant by viewing the rail links as extensions of the airports.

But given the Port Authority's past performance, it is doubtful that it will easily accept such an interpretation. Ever since it was established to provide "a better coordination of the terminal, transportation, and other facilities of commerce in, about, and through the port," it has acted like a private corporation. It has grabbed the winners and left the states with the losers, and exchanged chaotic streets for a tidy balance sheet.

The experience of 50 years riding with the Port Authority makes one queasy about the future of service from the growing number of agencies entering the public-private realm. One can imagine, for instance, the Sears Roebuck winter catalog arriving in the mailbox with the following note:

> Your Post Office Department, in its continuing fight to deliver the mails, finds that personal letters are not cost-efficient and threaten its ability to provide good service. They will, therefore, be disallowed.
>
> On the brighter side, in its efforts to stimulate healthy mail and to protect its investments, your Post Office has just purchased controlling interest in the Sears Roebuck catalog, which it will print and distribute four times yearly. It is also on contract with Astroturf, Campbell's Soup and the Democratic Party to produce and deliver all third-class leaflets. ■

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Memo of the Month

staff bulletin

Department of Housing and Urban Development

71-92 July 27, 1971

MINORITY GROUP STATISTICS SUBSYSTEM.

The Assistant Secretary for Equal Opportunity has authorized the creation of an automated "Minority Group Statistics Subsystem." The information needed to establish this file will be collected during the period from July 20 to August 8.

Computer listings are now being prepared for distribution to all organizations within the Department. Supervisors must determine the minority codes applicable to employees through visual observation only. They are specifically prohibited from:

- Asking any person his race or ethnic origin;
- Making copies of the list;
- Recording the identification by any other formal or informal method.

The minority file, containing social security numbers and minority codes only, will be under the direct control of the Assistant Secretary for Equal Opportunity. It will be maintained separately from the master personnel/payroll file. This data will be used in studies and analyses that contribute affirmatively to achieving the objectives of the Department's Equal Employment Opportunity Program.

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POLITICAL NUMBERS:
Nationalizing the South

by Michael Rappeport

The 1970 Census and voting trends among southern congressmen show that as the South urbanizes, its politics turn out to be far more urban than southern. There is a growth in two-party politics, and, more to the point, two-party politics fought between liberal Democrats and conservative Republicans.

There are 106 congressmen from the 11 southern states in the present Congress (after reapportionment, the 1972 House will have 108). Of these, 79 are Democrats, but only 63 fit the picture of a traditional "southern Democrat"—usually defined as one who votes with the majority of northern Democrats on less than 50 per cent of the important roll call votes as compiled by the *Congressional Quarterly*. Generally speaking, the characteristic which distinguishes the remaining 16 "national" Democrats (and, for that matter, the 27 Republicans) is that in the large majority of cases they represent the growing metropolitan areas. As Chart I shows, more than two thirds of the national Democrats come from metropolitan areas. Among all southern Democrats, about two thirds of the urban representatives usually vote with the national party—as opposed to about one-tenth of those from rural areas.

The Mansfield Amendment and the SST cancellation provide recent examples of how southern Democrats vote differently according to the kind of district they come from. The urban congressmen split almost evenly on both votes—nine for the SST, eight against; eight for the Mansfield Amendment, nine against. The rural congressmen, on the other hand, took the conservative side by more than a three-to-one margin on both bills—47 for the SST, 13 against; 11 for the Mansfield Amendment, 47 against.

Given the small average size of cities in the South, an urban district is generally part city, part suburb. Even where there are larger cities, the relative newness of the whole metropolitan area militates against a sharp city-suburb break. Thus, each city is often a miniature of "national" politics, with both parties winning some seats in elections that could go either way. Conservative Republican congressmen now hold seats from Memphis, St. Petersburg, and Charlotte, while liberal Democrats represent Nashville, Tampa, and Raleigh-Durham.

The next Congress will reflect the high growth rate of the urban region within the South. The number of urban representatives will rise from the current 31 to from 38 to 42 (depending on how districts are drawn), with 39 my estimate of the most probable number. This will further a long-term shift of power in both the House and the Democratic Caucus.

Texas, which has already reapportioned, is a good example of the urban trend. In 1972, it will have 24 seats instead of the present 23, but the number of seats with a rural majority will drop from 15 to 13. Houston gains a seat, Dallas-Fort Worth gains another, and the urban portion of Representative Olin Teague's district rises from one third to more than one half. In addition, two seats that were

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Chart I	Urban	Rural, Small and Medium Towns
Vote with Northern Democrats	11	5
Vote with Southern Democrats	6	56

predominantly rural are now almost half each in Bexar County (San Antonio). The present eight urban congressmen from Texas include four liberal Democrats, two Republicans, and two conservative Democrats.

There is some evidence that the House leadership has begun to recognize the trend in southern politics where it counts most—in appointments to the three most powerful committees: Appropriations, Rules, and Ways and Means. The senior conservatives from rural areas can no longer count on automatic appointment to these committees. In fact, of the eight southerners appointed to them in the last four Congresses, six have been drawn from the 11 southerners with the most liberal voting records, as listed in Chart II. Several of the six have been chosen over conservative southerners with far greater seniority.

Finally this trend towards a "nationalization" of southern politics may be in the process of acceleration. It is becoming increasingly difficult to find differences between the opinions of southern and other young people. This is most notable in the professed views of the college and university students who will inherit the leadership of the South. One good example is the nationwide poll of a huge representative cross-section (about 200,000 in 1970) of entering college freshmen taken annually by the American Council on Education. In 1969, this showed 27 per cent of southern freshmen considered themselves left or liberal (34 per cent outside the South). By 1970, the same study showed 33 per cent of southern college freshmen classified themselves as left of center compared to 37 per cent of those outside the South. Thus, the left-of-center southern students of 1970 were about equal in number to the liberal non-southern students of 1969, and the overall gap had closed to just four per cent.

Since the great majority of these young people will be eligible to vote in 1972, there may well be a pull to the left on southern Democratic politics. The result would surely be a corresponding rise in two-party politics throughout the South, with all that implies for American politics. ■

CHART II	% of Agreement with Non-Southern Dems on Key 1970 Votes	Major Committees
Eckhardt (D-Tex.)	93	Commerce
Gibbons (D-Fla.)	85	Ways and Means
Fascell (D-Fla.)	85	Foreign Affairs
Pepper (D-Fla.)	71	Rules, Interior
Galifianakis (D-N.C.)	71	Appropriations
Gonzalez (D-Tex.)	71	Banking
Pryor (D-Ark.)	67	Appropriations
Boggs (D-La.)	64	Majority Leader
Preyer (D-N.C.)	64	Commerce, Interior
Anderson (D-Tenn.)	62	Rules
Fulton (D-Tenn.)	62	Ways and Means

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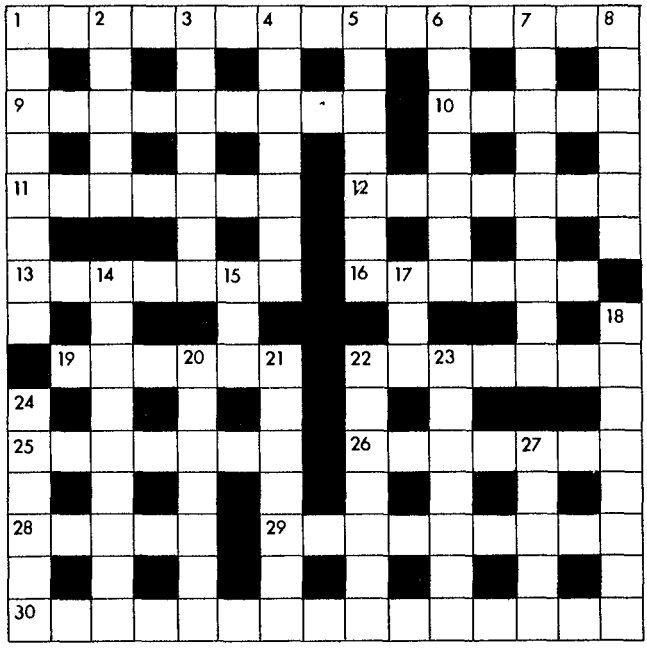
The Political Puzzle

by John Barclay



Across

1. China, Chinese style. (7, 8)
9. Clearly lacking on ego hunt. (3, 6)
10. When Nevil returns the party will perk up. (5)
11. Simpleton hid a pen here. (7)
12. Something about nothing. (4, 3)
13. Vain attempt for a trice, upset in New York. (4, 3)
16. "Work is the ——— of time." Napoleon. (6)
19. What can Beth do to get things started? (6)
22. Slap gin on the fence. (7)
25. Proverbial as crude test of trust in candidate. (4, 3)
26. Insertion in notice makes it distasteful. (3, 4)
28. From Cadillac, rotter produces flower. (5)
29. On optimum trips he stands above the crowd. (9)
30. Did Cain lend his name to acquire vast land-holding? (7, 8)

Down

1. The new diplomacy, it's a ball. (4-4)
2. Frequently could be a quarter at 9:45. (5)
3. Legs not suitable for most difficult way. (7)
4. Thoroughly thrashed lousy North Dakota wheat. (7)
5. Digs up facts about Scottish philosopher's married daughters. (7)
6. Fortunate card player will fare thus courting, they say. (7)
7. Mighty crocodile in the van, ail not! (9)
8. Big city in the East, near Ont., Can. (6)
14. Nixon will haul no ice to meet him. (4, 2-3)
15. Ore found in the ocean. (3)
17. In the middle of many D. C. socials. (3)
18. Rated well as seed liner. (8)
20. Follows selling spree for wheeler-dealer? (7)
21. Hard to live under bad rule. (7)
22. Universal East is a pain to achieve. (3-4)
23. Church council ran late, or vice versa. (7)
24. Kind of enemies or relations. (6)
27. She'll aid in forming 22 Down. (5)

The numbers indicate the number of letters and words, e.g., (2, 3) means a two-letter word followed by a three-letter word. Groups of letters, e.g., USA, are treated as one word. Answers to last month's puzzle are on page 9.

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REPORTS:

Aid to Brazil: From Dungeons to Disneyland

From time to time, we will recommend and comment on government reports of special interest or importance. We depend on our readers to help us identify materials that will make up this feature, as we do for the Memo of the Month.

by Taylor Branch

United States Policies and Programs in Brazil
Hearings before the Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs, Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate

Anyone who is discouraged by the tribulations with which our foreign policy must wrestle will be uplifted by the recently published hearings on "United States Policies and Programs in Brazil," conducted by Senator Frank Church's subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs. For what emerges from this testimony is a theme of rarely encountered intergovernmental friendship, a strikingly hopeful contrast to the nasty imbroglios in Pakistan, Indochina, the Middle East, and the SALT Talks. The witnesses paint a detailed picture of executive harmony between the United States and the right-wing military government that has ruled Brazil since 1964—a harmony which provides hemispheric and political balance to our overtures toward China, and which proves that determined initiative can transcend popular opposition to achieve the kind of bilateral partnership that diplomats dream of.

The signs of intergovernmental friendship abound. Major General George S. Beatty of the Joint Brazil-United States Military Commission, testified that Brazil was one of only two Latin American countries to provide forces for our 1965 peacekeeping effort in the Dominican Republic (the other being General Stroessner's Paraguay). Senator George Aiken of Vermont remarked that number two ranking aid recipient Brazil can be counted on for votes in the United Nations, unlike number one recipient India. And in return, we have trained more than 3,400 of Brazil's elite military officers in the U. S. and Panama

Taylor Branch is an editor of The Washington Monthly.

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since 1964. Moreover, according to testimony from Ambassador William M. Rountree, we are currently engaged in negotiations to help the Brazilian navy go forward with its anti-submarine warfare program.

These intimacies have been cultivated in a spirit high above the malodorous reports of death squads, torture, thousands of political prisoners, and heavy censorship on the part of the Brazilian government. In determining whether the grotesque repression really goes on, Ambassador Rountree testified that "the [Brazilian] President and one of the ministers, and others as well, have acknowledged that it does. They say they do not condone it, but it has happened."

The Brazilian government has been joined in not condoning its torture by Pope Paul VI, the International Commission of Jurists, the U. S. Catholic Conference, much of the Brazilian high clergy, most American newspapers, and the Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States (which Brazil refused to admit to the country for an investigation of torture and other state violence made possible by President Emilio G. Medici's suspension of the constitution). In addition, Allen Ginsberg and Lawrence Ferlinghetti of the Bay Area Poets' Phalanx issued a statement on July 23 of this year protesting the recent arrest and/or torture of 15 members of the Living Theatre now imprisoned in Brazil, including founders Julian Beck and Judith Malina. Nevertheless, according to Chief AID Public Safety Adviser Theodore Brown, the United States has possessed the diplomatic maturity to overlook these slip-ups in the interest of preserving our program of training, advice, and material assistance to the Brazilian police forces, which operate under the guidance of the military. Mr. Brown told Senator Church that AID had been of service to Brazil's National Police Academy in helping to:

> . . . increase the value of the personnel of the Federal Police Department, and of the state and territorial police from the moral, psychological, and intellectual standpoint, developing their democratic conscience, their respect for human rights, and dedication to their country; develop civic and moral standards, qualities of direction and leadership, a spirit of renewal; a mentality of permanent cultural development, a dedication to public security of police integration and mutual collaboration in the performance of their mission, the love of liberty and truth, and active participation in the nation's development.

"He Invoked a Standard."

Along with Senator Claiborne Pell, Senator Church expressed some skepticism of Mr. Brown's statement that "the minimum use of force, humane methods, these are the types of things I think that we have been helpful with." Forgetting for a moment that a program can be nourished by historic ties and personal bonds as well as success, Senator Church probed for reasons why we should align ourselves so enthusiastically with the torturers and thereby cause image problems around

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the world:

Senator Church: Do you think that the Brazilian police are today known for their restraint and humane methods in dealing with Brazilian people?

Mr. Brown: Well, they certainly advocate this, and through training at their academy, through their inservice training, through the mobile training courses. This is one of our principal thrusts.

Senator Church: In light of the many reports that we hear of torture in Brazil, do you think you have been successful in inculcating humane methods in restraint?

Mr. Brown: Yes, sir; I do, Senator.

Senator Church: You do. You think our program has been successful in Brazil in achieving its objectives?

Mr. Brown: Yes, sir.

Senator Church: You really believe that?

Mr. Brown: Yes, sir.

When pressed by Senator Pell for reasons why the Brazilian government is known as such a crude police state, Mr. Brown invoked the marital spat analogy to capture the relationship between the Brazilian police and the people:

Mr. Brown: Why certain people do things, that is a difficult question for me to answer, sir.

Senator Pell: I realize that.

Mr. Brown: Why do some people beat their wives, these things why do they occur, it is difficult for me to answer.

Of course, friendly governments have spats, too, and the U.S.-Brazil relationship has suffered at times from the next-door neighbor problem, in which families must bear the sounds of household quarrels through thin walls. This problem is evident in the following exchange between General Beatty and subcommittee staff member Pat Holt:

Mr. Holt: I have a copy here of an Associated Press story from Rio which says:

U. S. Naval Mission here is on the same floor in the Brazilian Navy Ministry as a room in which political prisoners claim to have been tortured.

One American assigned to the floor said recently, "I have been hearing screams and groans for about two years. I was frightened." Other U. S. personnel were reported to have seen Brazilians being dragged to and from the interrogation room by Brazilian naval agents.

No one, insofar as can be determined has ever reported anything about it to U. S. Navy officials or the U. S. Embassy.

Admiral Clarence Hill, Commander of the U. S. Mission, said he knew nothing "about this kind of thing."

But after newsmen began making further inquiries of U.S. personnel there, Hill ordered them not to discuss the subject. The American who reported hearing screams would no longer talk about it.

Do you know if Admiral Hill gave such an order?

General Beatty: That is not a real accurate description of what he did. He invoked a standard—

Mr. Holt: Please give us an accurate description.

General Beatty: He invoked a Navy regulation which requires that if there are things out of line in any organization these facts be made known to persons in the chain of command, that is what he told them.

A Reasonable Prediction

Back in Washington, the U. S. government has managed to contain its indignation toward torture in Brazil by turning its eye more toward the stability of military control. When the senators asked Ambassador Rountree for evidence of official U. S. displeasure with the death squads and torture cells, he scoured the record and produced the transcripts of two noon press briefings at the State Department. Under pressure for a pro- or anti-torture position, the briefing officer had let fly some brotherly anxiety in 1970:

Answer: As far as allegations of torture of prisoners in Brazil are concerned, of course we are concerned about this. Now, we've been assured in conversations with high Brazilian officials that the Brazilian Government does not condone torture.

Question: You're satisfied with this assurance?

Answer: Well, we continue to be concerned about these reports, Tad, and we've been in touch with the Brazilian Government about them. I would assume we'll continue to be in touch with them and express our concern.

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Further questioning revealed to the senators that our unqualified regard for General Medici has been breached no more often and at no higher levels.

Anxious to determine exactly what motivates this fraternal cooperation, Senator Church questioned AID Director William A. Ellis:

Senator Church: How does the present government, in which we have invested $2 billion, serve the national interests of the United States, in your judgment?

Mr. Ellis: ... One of them is the existence of a government or society which is generally consistent with our national, specific national, security interests in the hemisphere which would not pose a security threat to us.

Second would be the protection and expansion, if possible, of our economic interests, trade and investment, in the hemisphere.

Senator Church: Can you tell me how large the American private investment is in Brazil today?

Mr. Ellis: It is somewhat over $1.6 billion.

Senator Church: So we have pumped in $2 billion since 1964 to protect a favorable climate of investment that amounts to about $1.6 billion.

Mr. Ellis: That is only one of the objectives.... I think the third, Mr. Chairman, is the economic and social development of the country, which has been stated. As a U. S. objective, it has, I think, overlapped with our security objectives and with our humanitarian interest in a country this size.

But the generals testified that our security interests are lessened by the fact that Brazil faces no serious external threat. And although IBM earned 64 per cent on invested capital in Brazil last year when American business as a whole repatriated $2 million more in profits than it invested, the hearings showed that our government sends more to Brazil than private enterprise brings home. So the senators were left with sheer bonhomie as the basis for extremely healthy relations with General Medici's regime. Only General Beatty put forth an old politics view of all the military aid and good will, hazarding a guess into Brazil's future:

It is generally believed that the Brazilian Armed Forces will continue to be a major influence in the formulation of Brazil's national policies for some years to come. In the light of Brazil's continuing importance to U. S. objectives, it is considered to be in the best interests of the United States that U. S. friendship and cooperation with the Brazilian Armed Forces is maintained.

Internal Security at the Stardust Hotel

When any affection waxes this strongly, the parties are bound to be together or visit each other a great deal—and government officials are no exception. Senator Church, seeking a functional explanation for the huge number of employees at the U. S. mission in Brazil (588 American professionals, 811 domestics), found our presence there enormous, especially in Rio de Janeiro. "It seems to me that the size of our bureaucracy is simply immense," he told Ambassador Rountree. "I think there is nothing like it in the history of other nations." Church later stated that "relative to population, we have twice as many people in Brazil as the British had in India when they were providing the government for that entire country." Of course, there are reasons other than good feeling between governments for this large number of Americans who risk torture and repression to stay in Brazil. Public safety, for example, was cited by Public Safety Adviser Brown, who is responsible for the police training program:

Mr. Holt: Would you feel safer by yourself on the street at night in Washington or in Rio?

Mr. Brown: I would feel safer in Rio.

Senator Church: If that is the case then how is it that we are so well qualified to instruct the Brazilians on adequate police protection methods?

Mr. Brown: I am sorry, sir, I did not quite understand the question.

Senator Church: If you feel safer walking in the streets of Rio than in Washington, the capital of this country, how is it that we are so specially qualified to instruct the Brazilians on proper police methods?

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Mr. Brown: I would not say that my statement had to do—anything to do—with the quality of our law enforcement or the qualifications that our law enforcement personnel have. I think it is just the facts of life, sir.

These facts of life have driven so many government officials to Rio that we are forced to keep seven professionals in the air attache office and to maintain a special Military Airlift Command for one military flight to Rio each week.

Because true political partnership can never be a one-way street, there is also considerable official Brazilian traffic to the north—generally of the uniformed, dark-blue sunglasses variety. General Beatty declared to the subcommittee that training tours to the U. S. for Brazilian officers of their army, navy, and air force war colleges are vital to military and diplomatic unity—and therefore worth their funding under the Military Assistance Program. He described the significance of the tours as follows:

To the staff and command schools, these visits mean knowlege of the United States at a formulative time of the officers' development. To the high-level civilians and military of the War College, orientation visits furnish a broad insight of the United States at a time when the national and international interests of their country are under discussion and review. . . . Given the scholastic atmosphere under which this training is conducted and these visits are made and the ensuing discussions, debates, and comparisons which follow on their return to Brazil, it is probable that the participant's U. S. experience will increase his understanding and friendship toward the United States in carrying out military and civic responsibilities.

The subcommittee staff inserted 35 pages of recent tour itineraries into the records, which reveal that, once again, fraternity triumphs over functional realpolitik as the key to our fine-tuned harmony with the Brazilian government. The scholastic atmosphere of the Air Force tours is enhanced by visits to such spots as the Flamingo and Stardust Hotels in Las Vegas, and the Astrodome. The Navy spends a lot of time at the Plaza Hotel in New York, Disneyland, the San Diego Zoo, Universal Studios, Fisherman's Wharf, and as guests of the Coca Cola Company at Radio City Music Hall. A typical tour for the Brazilian Army's National War College goes as follows, in this case costing $91,800 in Military Assistance Program training funds:

Fri 14 Aug	
1605 EDT	Arrive Miami International Airport via Braniff KLT Flt 976. Greeted by Mr. Roberto Fernandez, Public Affairs Mgr, *Esso Brazilero;* Mr. Rudolpho Ledgard, Sr Advisor Public Affairs, *Esso International* and Major Frederick G. Qvale, USAF Escort Officer.
	Proceed to Holiday Inn Motel, 2201 Collins Ave. on Ocean Miami Beach, Florida.
Evening	At leisure.
Sat 15 Aug	
AM	At leisure for shopping and sight-seeing
1200	Informal lunch.
1900	Reception/Dinner hosted by *Esso Inter-Americas Co.* Bath Club, Miami Beach.
Sun 16 Aug	
1230 EDT	Depart Miami International Airport
	Lunch aboard aircraft.
1235 CDT	Arrive Hurlburt Field, Florida. Greeted by Brig Gen Leroy J. Manor, Comdr, USAF Special Operations Force.
PM	Special Opns Force (SOF) Briefing at Hurlburt Field.
	Proceed to Howard Johnson Motel, 245 Miracle Strip Parkway, S.W., Fort Walton Beach

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1900	Reception/Buffet at Hurlburt Officers' Club
Mon 17 Aug	
AM	Static Display and Demonstration at Hurlburt Field
1200	Hosted Luncheon
1400	Depart Hurlburt Field, Fla., *Honors*
1715 EDT	Arrive New York City, LaGuardia Airport. Greeted by Major Zint, SAFOI New York Escort Officer
	Proceed to Belmont Plaza Hotel, 49th & Lexington Ave., N.Y.
Evening	At Leisure
Tue 18 Aug	
1000	Visit United Nations
1200	Lunch at Governors Island. Hosted by Rear Admiral Benjamin F. Engel, CDR 3rd Coast Guard District
PM	Tour Manhattan Island courtesy US Coast Guard
Wed 19 Aug	
0900	Depart New York City via chartered bus (Party will depart from Belmont Plaza Hotel)
1100	Arrive Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Proceed to Benjamin Franklin Hotel, Chestnut St. and Ninth
	Tour of Philadelphia conducted by Philadelphia Convention and Tours (Mr. Hornstein, Director)
	Informal Lunch
PM	Continue tour of Philadelphia
Thus 20 Aug	
1000 EDT	Depart Philadelphia via chartered bus (Party will depart from Ben Franklin Hotel)
1230	Arrive Washington, D.C. Proceed to Ambassador Hotel, 1412 K St., N.W.
Thu-Mon 21-24 Aug	
	See Detailed Washington Schedule
Tue 25 Aug	
1100 EDT	Depart Washington, D.C. from Andrews AFB, *Honors*, Lunch aboard the aircraft
1310 CDT	Arrive Ellington AFB, Tex
PM	Briefing and tour of Ellington
	Immediately following briefing, proceed to Sheraton-Lincoln Hotel, 777 Polk Ave., Houston
1900	Reception/Buffet Social Function at Ellington AFB Officers' Club
Wed 26 Aug	
	Guests of *Humble Oil Company*
AM	Brief sessions in Humble Building by Humble Management
Noon	Luncheon in Petroleum Club
PM	Tour of Esso Production Research facility
Evening	Party at Astrodome
Thus 27 Aug	
0900	Visit NASA Manned Space Center, Houston, Tex
Noon	Informal lunch
1400	Proceed to Rice University for tour and briefing
Evening	At leisure
Fri 28 Aug	
1200	Depart Houston International Airport via Pan American Airways Flt 501 for Rio De Janeiro
	CONUS Tour Ends

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The magnitude, extent, and costs of the U. S. defense effort are brought dramatically to their attention during visits to defense installations. Their recognition of this magnitude has been very influential in persuading the Brazilians that the U. S. strategic capabilities enable them to keep their military equipment procurement primarily limited to their needs for internal security and defense of contiguous maritime communications.

General Beatty also told the subcommittee that the tours are useful in so dazzling the Brazilian officers with our strategic hardware that they are induced to rely on us for international protection—allowing them to concentrate on their own specialties, such as internal policing:

A Breath Mint for Brazil

General Beatty and Public Safety Adviser Brown told the subcommittee that *encouraging* the Brazilians to concentrate on internal affairs, and indeed training them to do so, is kept scrupulously short of *interfering* with those internal affairs. This is a fine line, of course, but it is precisely when a cooperative relationship is hotly intertwined that one must be careful not to commit an indiscretion. Senator Church questioned Mr. Brown about one uncoordinated incident that took place when the police used equipment with clear American identification markings in the suppression of a riot. Mr. Brown supplied an account of how AID acted quickly to correct this condition and forestall further adverse publicity.

Subject equipment were olive-drab canvas pouches for carrying gas masks; they had U. S. stencilled in large black letters on the pouch; below the emblem was an insignia believed to be of the U. S. Army Chemical Corps and in smaller size stencilled lettering a capital "U" and the words "Army Service Gas Mask."

U. S. AID Public Safety was informed by the acting commander of the Miltiary Police Battalion that the masks were loaned to the military police by the Brazilian Army.

Following the incident, U. S. AID Public Safety advisers discussed the subject with Secretary of Public Safety for the Federal District and he made the decision to have all of the U. S. markings on these pouches painted over with black paint. He later issued orders to the Military Police Commander to make certain that all equipment on loan from the Brazilian Army be checked and U. S. markings painted over.

This kind of precaution is absolutely necessary when so much military aid equipment is in the hands of authorities in Brazil. Similar care is required on the part of the American instructors who provide training for Brazilian military and police officers, because cooperation can look like interference if it is not handled right. Staff member Holt told General Beatty that a non-intrusion posture is especially important in our military training program, inasmuch as we teach Brazilian officers the following skills:

. . . censorship, checkpoint systems, chemical and biological operations, briefings on the CIA, civic action and civil affairs, clandestine operations, communism and democracy, cordon and search operations, counterguerrilla operations, cryptography, defoliation, dissent in the United States, electronic intelligence, electronic warfare and countermeasures, the use of informants, insurgency, intelligence, counterintelligence, subversion, countersubversion, espionage, counterespionage, interrogation of prisoners and suspects, handling mass rallies and meetings, nuclear weapons effects, intelligence photography, polygraphs, populace and resources control, psychological operations, raids and searches, riots, special warfare, surveillance, terror, and undercover operations.

Despite these fine lines, the U. S. mission in Brazil has managed to be very close without touching, without direct involvement in the internal affairs of Brazil. As Senator Church has stated, "The record contains the most categorical denials by responsible officials testifying under oath." In fact, the officials maintained that a non-involvement policy has been in effect at least since the military government came to power in 1964. (There is a strong undercurrent of opinion in the hearings that U. S. disfavor with the previous constitutional government,

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effected through economic aid policy, was influential in bringing down that government in favor of the military.)

The Human Factor

Regardless of the firmness of the record on this score, Senators Church and Pell asserted that they had trouble explaining U. S. policy toward Brazil to critics in this country. The Brazilian government just *looks* bad, they said, despite the safe streets of Rio and the AID public relations training. Senator Church went into the appearance/reality problem by asserting that the realities to which General Beatty and the others had sworn carried little weight with Americans who have to form judgments based on the climate of international opinion and the newspapers. College students were, as usual, most troublesome on this score:

> Now, when I go to American colleges and talk to young people they ask why have we spent $2 billion in Brazil when the government there is dictatorial in character, run by military men, any number of Brazilians are said to be mistreated in the jails, where there are recurrent reports of human torture. Why should the United States give such lavish support to a government of this kind? They say, "What does this have to do with the kind of society we are supposed to stand for?" Those questions are not easily answered, and since ultimately public support will be necessary to sustain any foreign policy, what happens when that foreign policy falls out of contact with the traditional values of our country in such a way that people can no longer understand its purpose nor justify their support for it? Young people say, if we are not against this kind of thing then what is it we are for in the world that is worth supporting? This is the ultimate test of a foreign policy and frankly, public support for the American foreign policy is rapidly eroding away.

It became clear during the testimony that Ambassador Rountree assuages his misgivings along these lines with the old American maxim that when in doubt, look to the GNP. As honorary president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce in Brazil, the Ambassador alluded to a rise in the national income figures as indicators of a growing contentment that calms the Brazilian workers (whose standard of living, in a statistical counter-trend, has fallen 10 per cent in the last seven years). Whenever pressed by Senator Church to justify fervent American support of Brazil's government, Ambassador Rountree would wash the Medici regime in the momentum-words of progress and take the misunderstanding to its core:

> Mr. Rountree: . . . The dedication of the Brazilian leaders, with the support of the Brazilian people to this program of progress, is really very impressive. Their progress is being made under a free enterprise system which I think serves as a very good example to others who might be considering other forms of economic systems for the achievement of their objectives.
>
> Senator Church: Do you feel the same way about the political system, Mr. Ambassador, serving as a good example?
>
> Mr. Rountree: The political situation existing in Brazil, of course, is uniquely Brazilian. I do not think they would expect that Brazilian solutions to the problems of Brazil would necessarily constitute an example for other countries whose problems are different, and whose situations are different. . . the situation in Brazil presents many differences from our own concepts. I am tremendously impressed with what President Nixon has said about this general question:
>
> The United States has a strong political interest in maintaining cooperation with our neighbors regardless of their domestic viewpoint. . . . We deal with governments as they are.
>
> Senator Church: We not only deal with them, we extend lavish amounts of money, in the case of Brazil, $2 billion to support Brazilian programs under the auspices of this country. With all deference to the President's statement, it does not go far enough, in explaining our policies.

Indeed, the President left out the spirit of the Stardust Hotel and of the AID public safety mission—the indescribable spark which sometimes arises between people who have things in common.■

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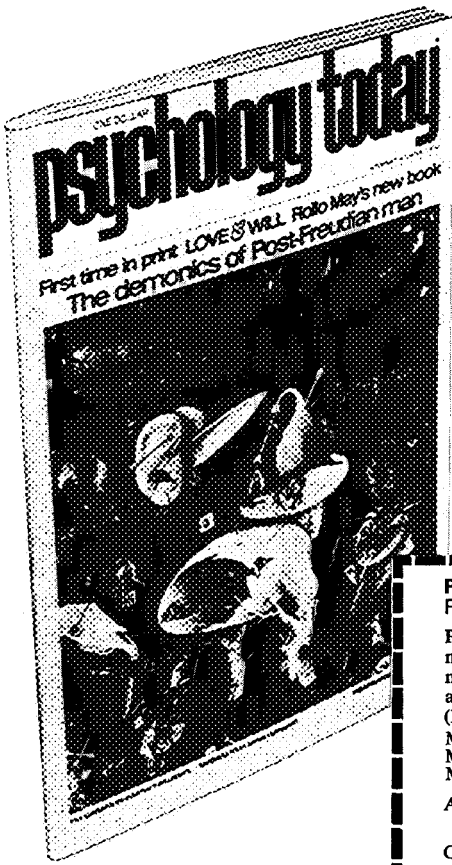

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America's Empire. Claude Julien. Pantheon, $7.95.

As Man Becomes Machine. David M. Rorvik. Doubleday, $5.95.

Bellevue is a State of Mind. Anne Barry. Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, $5.95.

Beyond Freedom and Dignity. B. F. Skinner. Knopf, $6.95.

Blue-Collar Workers: A Symposium on Middle America. Sar A. Levitan, ed. McGraw-Hill, $12.50.
Nineteen social analysts, including economists, political scientists, sociologists, and public servants, comment on blue-collar life and work; the problems that beset blue-collar people; and how they are treated by American society.

Bread and Roses Too: Reporting about America. Jack Newfield. E. P. Dutton, $7.95; paper, $3.50.

California Water: A Study in Resource Management. David Seckler, ed. University of California Press, $15.
Major topics in the field of water management and how they apply to California's present dilemma.

Children's Rights: Toward the Liberation of the Child. Paul Adams, et al. Introduction by Paul Goodman. Praeger, $6.95.

Coming Apart: An Informal History of America in the 1960's. William L. O'Neill. Quadrangle, $12.50.

CQ Guide to the Congress of the United States. Congressional Quarterly, $35.
Traces the origins and developments of the U. S. Congress and explains how Congress works, its power, the pressures upon it, prospects for change, and housekeeping. Appendices, index, and bibliographies.

Cruising Speed: A Documentary. William F. Buckley, Jr. Putnam, $6.95.

A Day in the Life of the New York Times. Ruth Adler. Lippincott, $6.95.

Earthkeeping: Our War with Nature and a Proposal for Peace. Gordon Harrison. Houghton, Mifflin, $5.95.

Eleanor and Franklin: The Story of Their Relationship Based on Eleanor Roosevelt's Private Papers. Joseph P. Lash. Norton, $12.50 to Dec. 31; $15 thereafter.

Fragments of My Fleece. Dean Acheson. Norton, $6.95.

Getting High in Government Circles. Art Buchwald. Putnam, $5.95.

The Happy Mediocrity. Elaine Kendall. Putnam, $6.95.

A History of the Modern Age. Julian K. Prescott. Doubleday, $7.95.

How a Satirical Editor Became a Yippie Conspirator in Ten Easy Years. Paul Krassner. Putnam, $7.95.

The Imperial Animal. Lionel Tiger and Robin Fox. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, $6.95.

Indict and Convict: The Inside Story of a Prosecutor and His Office in Action. Bill Davidson. Harper and Row, $6.95.

Kennedy Justice. Victor Navasky. Atheneum, $10.

The Last Fix: Dan Russell and the World that Lost Him. Ellen Russell. Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, $6.95.

The Last of the Big-Time Bosses. Warren Moscow. Stein and Day, $7.95.

Lieutenant Calley: His Own Story. John Sack. Viking, $5.95.

Look for Me in the Whirlwind: The Collective Autobiography of the New York 21. Random House, $8.95; Vintage paperback, $2.45.

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Man and Atom: Building a New World through Nuclear Technology. Glenn T. Seaborg and William R. Corliss. E. P. Dutton, $10.

A Man's Home, a Man's Castle. Kenneth Weinberg. McCall, $4.95.

Marching Nowhere. Kenneth Hurwitz. Norton, $6; paper, $1.95.

Nagasaki: The Necessary Bomb? Joseph S. Marx. Macmillan, $6.95.

The News Twisters. Edith Efron. Nash, $7.95.

Nixon in the White House: The Frustration of Power. Rowland Evans, Jr. and Robert D. Novak. Random House, $8.95.

Paris Journal: 1965-71. Janet Flanner. William Shawn, ed. Atheneum, $12.95.

Passion and Politics: Student Activism in America. Seymour Martin Lipset and Gerald M. Schaflander. Little, Brown, $8.95.

Purr, Baby, Purr. Lucianne Goldberg and Jeannie Sakol. Hawthorn, $5.95.

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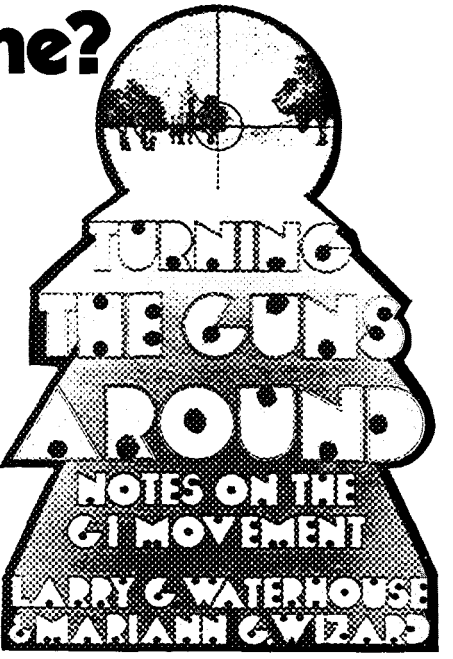

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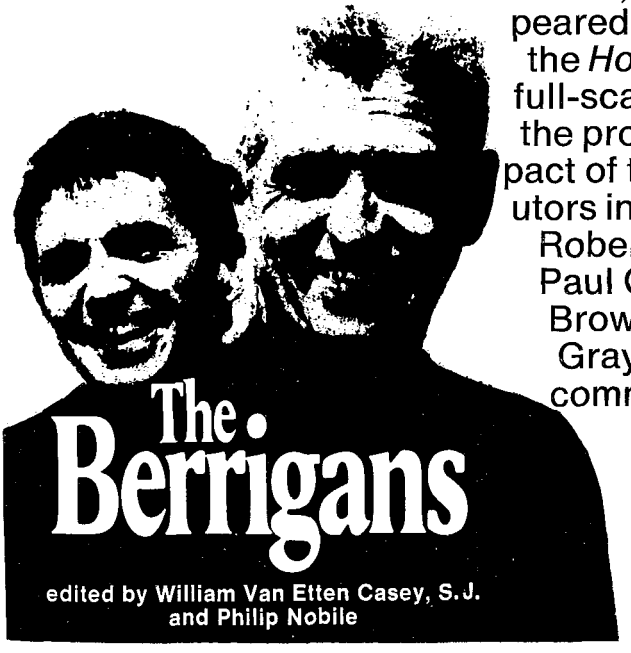

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